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WESTMINSTER ABBEY & THE KINGS' CRAFTSMEN

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Emery Walker Ph. Sc.

King Richard II

From the portrait attributed to André Beauneveu in Westminster Abbey

WESTMINSTER ABBEY & THE KINGS' CRAFTSMEN

A STUDY OF MEDIÆVAL BUILDING: BY W. R. LETHABY

LONDON: DUCKWORTH & CO.
HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN
MCMVI

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TO EDITH

PREFACE

My chief purpose in the pages which follow is not to add another to the many and excellent descriptions of the Abbey which exist already, but it is to give an account of the artists—the masons, carpenters, sculptors, painters, and other craftsmen—who built and decorated it.

At the same time, in working over much new material from MSS., or recently printed sources, or in examining well-known facts from my own point of view, I have necessarily had to reconsider the history of the Abbey buildings.

I want to show that, just as in thirteenth-century Italy we assign certain works of art to Arnolfo, Niccolo, or Giotto, so here we can identify the works of John of Gloucester, mason; John of St. Albans, sculptor; and William of Westminster, painter. And as in Florence, so at Westminster, a personal human interest must add to our reverence for an otherwise abstract art.

I have wished also to get at the facts as to building organisation in the Middle Ages—the "economic basis" of Gothic art. If this is understood, it seems to me that the futility of copying the mere shapes taken by this great historical art must be acknowledged. The more we imitate the works of the men who wrought the marvels of Gothic art, the less we have of their spirit, for they adventured into the unknown.

It has been generally assumed that nothing is known, or may be known, of the "architects" of our mediæval English buildings, but so great is the mass of records which have been preserved regarding their erection, that an account of the builders of several of the cathedrals can be made out with some fulness. I have satisfied myself that this is the case in

regard to Canterbury, Lincoln, York, Durham, Salisbury, Wells, and Exeter, and I have given some account of how the last-named was built in the Architectural Review *of* 1904. *Westminster Abbey, however, is by far the best documented of our mediæval buildings.*

The Introduction and two following chapters of this book may, I hope, serve as a guide to the Abbey considered as a work of art. Three or four chapters which follow are historical and technical, and the larger part of the rest is concerned with the mediæval craftsmen whose works are there preserved.

For several of the most detailed and valuable illustrations of this volume I have to thank friends, and above all Mr. Micklethwaite for the use of his analytical plan and section. Mr. S. Vacher put his large detailed section at my disposal, and Mr. Lee allowed me to consult some original drawings of Wren's in his possession. Mr. F. G. Knight lent me his now invaluable survey of the Chapter House doorway, Figs. 13 *and* 14, *drawn when it was in a much better condition. Both Mr. Vacher and Mr. Knight have now given these drawings to the Spiers Collection at the South Kensington Art Library. I am indebted also to Mr. J. S. Slater, Mr. T. MacLaren, the late Mr. H. W. Brewer, and Mr. R. Webster. My thanks are also due to the proprietors of* The Builder, The Building News, The Architect, *and* The British Architect *for allowing me to use some of the drawings referred to in the forms in which they have appeared in those journals; and to my friend, Mr. S. C. Cockerell, for reading my proofs. I must also express my gratitude to the Dean and to all who have charge of the Abbey for the way in which I have been enabled, as a mere casual visitor, to minutely examine the*

fabric and the works of art which it contains. The vergers, who fulfil a difficult office with great patience, have always been most helpful, although I went to them entirely unrecommended.

Collecting for the purpose of this volume, which has extended over a period of a dozen years or more, has necessarily been done in the intervals of business, and I hope that some faults will be excused on this account. I should have liked my references to have been much fuller, and here I should say that all those given by numbers alone, as: 471, 1 *and* 2, *mean in every case—The Record Office, Exchequer Accounts, Works, Q.R. (now K.R.): the numbers referring to the bundles and items, as, in the above example: bundle* 471; *items* 1 *and* 2.

At the last moment I must add a word of thanks to my friend Mr. Emery Walker for the plate he has preparea of the noble portrait of Richard II.

111 INVERNESS TERRACE,
October 1906.

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INTRODUCTION

> "*It is a building second to none amongst all the marvels of architectural beauty produced by the Middle Ages. Like all such buildings, its beauty is convincing and sets criticism aside.*"
>
> WILLIAM MORRIS, "Westminster Abbey."

THE Abbey Church of St. Peter is but a part of what was once the great monastic establishment at Westminster. Those who have seen the Abbeys of Fountains, Furness, and Rievaulx, ruined, indeed, but otherwise unaltered, may best imagine what Westminster was as it stood complete with its attached farm-buildings, mill, and workshops, when the vineyards, orchards, and tilled fields came up to the precinct walls. The Church, excluding the seven western bays of the Nave, and Henry VII.'s Chapel to the east, was built by Henry III. in the twenty-five years from 1245 to 1270. The Chapter House, the portion of the Cloister which leads to it, and those of its bays which are attached to the south aisle of the early part of the Church, are all parts of Henry III.'s work. The western bays of the Church, the rest of the Cloister, and the Abbot's House (now the Deanery) were built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

A First Visit.

The exterior has been so completely recased that to describe it will be to describe a series of modern works. Save for the mass, and a certain grace of general form, only the interior can concern us as an authentic work of ancient Art. However, the south side, as seen from the Cloister, with its

four tiers of windows and immense flying buttresses, is a very noble composition, and the south-east corner, between the Chapter House and Henry VII.'s

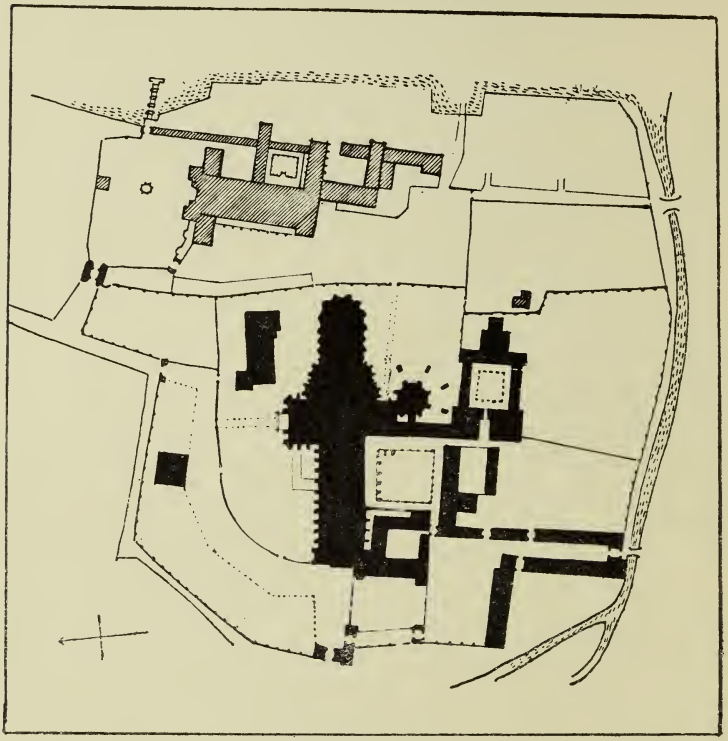

Fig. 1.—General Plan of the Abbey and Palace compiled from Sandford, Wren, and Fig. 2

Chapel, is quiet and has an echo of romance. I want to think of it here as it was when it stood in its first fairness, when Henry III., in 1262, ordered pear trees to be planted in "the herbary between the King's Chamber and the Church," evidently so that he might see it over a bank of blossom (see Figs. 1 and 2).

The Church within has been little injured, except by the erection of pompous tomb-trophies, and modern sham Gothic fittings and glass, which are

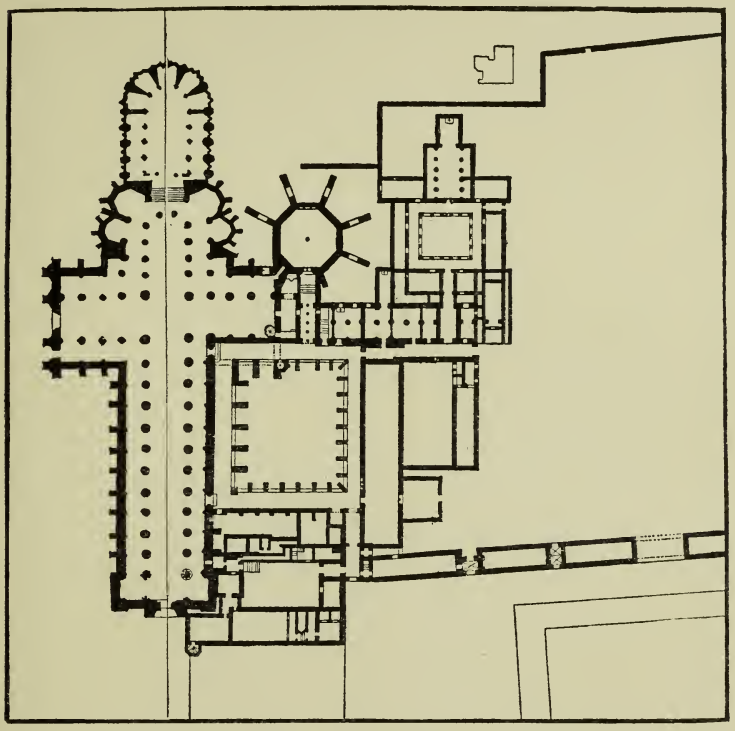

Fig. 2.—The Abbey buildings, from a plan by Mr. Micklethwaite

even more injurious because more specious and confusing.

The interior ever surprises me by its loveliness. The grace of the parts and their ordered disposition, the slender springing forms and the gaiety of the style, the fine materials and the romantic early monuments, are arresting beauties of a matchless whole. The skilful planning of the Apse and

radiating Chapels, the great space which opens between the Transepts and the Altar, and the contrivance by which two windows of the Eastern Chapels are placed so as to tell in the vistas of the long aisles, are triumphs of arrangement. This beauty of plan is the necessary foundation for all the other beauties of the church (Fig. 3).

On first entering by the North Transept door, look across the transverse vaults to the great South Rose. Then diagonally right and left, where wide and distant prospects into the Choir and Presbytery open to the view. It is possible from the north-east corner of the Transept, where we stand, to see the outer windows of the middle stage through the Triforium openings west of the crossing. On the east one can see away through the Transept Chapels towards the Altar and the Shrine. Crossing towards the South Transept, the central avenue, looking east, is very satisfying. Notice the difference between the simpler vaulting of the eastern limb and that over the Choir west of the crossing, which is, perhaps, only ten years later. The height is greater than in any other English church; it is 103 feet to the crown of the vault of the choir. The width of the church across the transepts is about 200 feet, and the total length, including Henry VII.'s Chapel, is about 500 feet.

The diagonal view from the door of St. Faith's Chapel in the South Transept is the finest of all. One may see, between some dozen slender marble columns, and beyond the middle space, the shapely windows of the apsidal chapels.

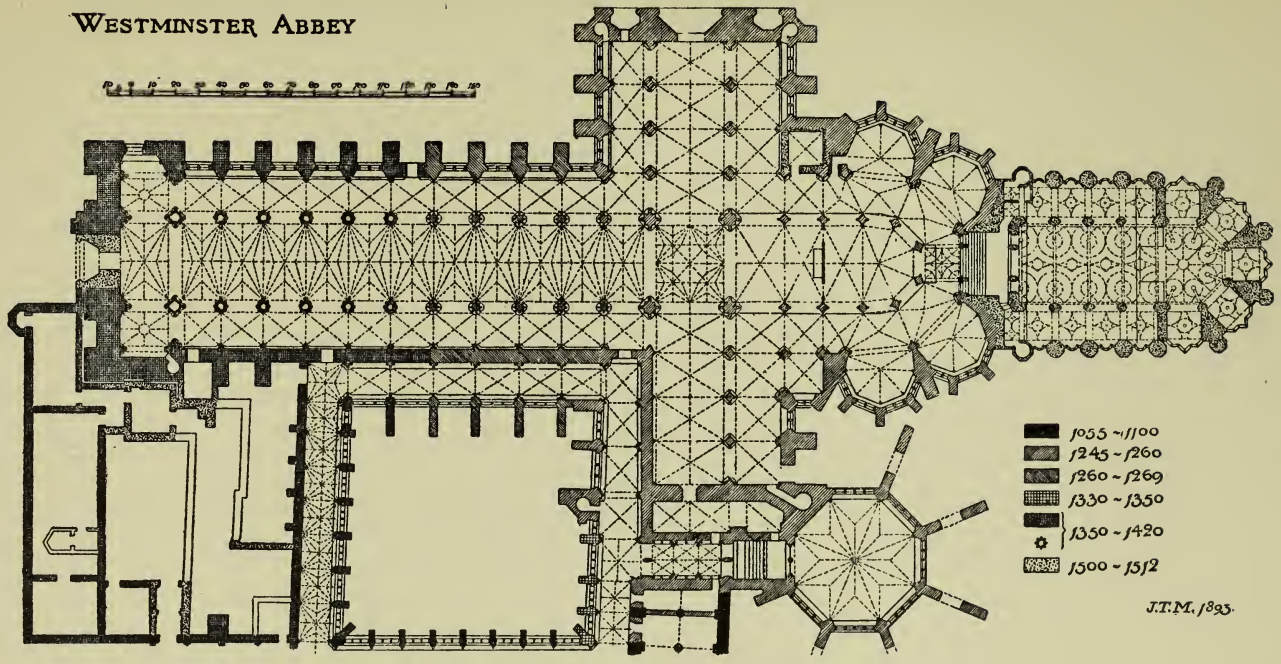

FIG. 3.—Plan of the Church, by Mr. Micklethwaite

Starting from the South Transept for a first rapid survey of the Church, and having regard particularly for the earlier features, examine the sculptures high up under the Rose window, and then, before leaving the transept, enter the Chapel of St. Faith, where, over the Altar, is a figure of the tutelary Saint, painted by a contemporary of Cimabue. Passing down the South Aisle of the western limb of the Church and returning by the North Aisle, in each case outside the *Choir*, examine the series of sculptured coats-of-arms wrought about 1260, the finest early heraldry in England. In the South Aisle they have been mostly pushed aside from their proper positions, but in the North Aisle the original disposition is nearly intact. Notice, especially, the Confessor's Cross, and the three leopards of England—the first two on the south side—and on the north, the double-tailed lion of Simon de Montfort, and the lilies of France. The shields seem to be suspended by straps from projecting heads of fine character.

Turning now into the aisle of the North Transept, do not miss the carved spandrels of the wall-arcade, especially one of St. Michael and the Dragon. Crossing the centre of the church again ascend the steps towards the altar. On the left are three of the most beautiful tombs anywhere to be seen, those of Aveline, Countess of Lancaster (1273), Aymer de Valence (1326), and Edmund of Lancaster, son of Henry III. (1296). Opposite, on the right, are the Sedilia (1308), and the portrait of Richard II. (1398). The floor is of splendid Italian Mosaic laid down in 1268.

Entering the south Ambulatory around the Apse, we find within the gates on the right the alabaster tomb of Cardinal Langham (1376) : then the mosaic tomb of the children of Henry III., made about 1272. On the left-hand side we pass first Sebert's tomb, with the canopied back of the Sedilia above it. The tomb of Richard II. and his Queen (1394) is the next, and then we come to the tomb of Edward III. (1377), with little brass images around the side, and enamelled coats-of-arms. Opposite, within and against the screen of the first chapel, is the splendid tomb effigy, in enamelled bronze, of William de Valence (1296). On the opposite side of the door in the screen is the fine alabaster tomb of John of Eltham, son of Edward II. (1336). Examine particularly one of these radiating chapels as a unit. They are the most perfect works of central Gothic architecture in England. Going eastward again, the last tomb on the left is that of Philippa, Edward III.'s Queen (1369). Observe the coats-of-arms, carved with remarkable delicacy in white marble. Passing the middle point of the Ambulatory under the elaborately sculptured Chantry of Henry V., we come next to the tomb of Alianor of Castile, with a superb piece of wrought iron to guard it, all a work of the last decade of the thirteenth century. Opposite, on the right, is the tomb of Sir Ludovic Robsart, a much later work (1431). Further west, on the left, is the mosaic tomb of Henry III., which can be best seen from here, as so much less of the mosaic remains in place on the other side. Beyond it is the plain black marble chest containing the body of Edward I. ; and still beyond are

the three canopied tombs which we saw to the left of the Altar. The middle one, especially, has little images of "weepers" of the most exquisite quality of sculpture—there are no better.

Go right on to the chapels east of the North Transept. At the angle, before entering, is the late, double-staged tomb-chapel of Islip, the last Abbot. In the chapels beyond are some pretty spandrel carvings and the ruins of a late reredos. Return and ascend to the Confessor's Chapel inside the circle of royal tombs. At the middle point is the Confessor's own tomb, and facing it on the west is the Coronation Chair. Beginning here, I shall in the next chapter more particularly describe the parts of the interior in their historical aspect. But before concluding the first general survey, visit Henry VII.'s Chapel, and look especially at the gates, the vault, the tomb of Henry VII. and his Queen, with the brazen screen about it, and the tomb of Margaret of Richmond in the South Aisle.

Passing into the Cloister by the door just west of the South Transept, notice the open-work carving of its arch, and visit the Chapter House remarking especially the figures right and left of the door on the inside, the tiled floor, and the remnants of painting in the wall arcades—especially to the east.

From its crowded associations, and the many lovely minor works it contains, as well as its own intrinsic beauty, this church must be held by Englishmen as the supreme work of art in the world.

CHAPTER I

THE INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH

The Shrine and Royal Tombs : The Altar and Coronation Chair : The Presbytery : The Crossing and Coronation Stage : The Choir and Pulpitum : Nave, Chapels, and Pavements : Glass and Colouring

> *"Famous, beautiful, and stately; the building within is supported by lofty pillars of grey marble."*
>
> NORDEN MS. HARL. 570.

THE focus of the whole church was the Confessor's Golden Shrine, which rested upon the high base-

The Shrine and Royal Tombs.

ment of marble and mosaic which still stands at the centre of the Royal chapel. In the earlier arrangement the shrine must have been seen from the choir over the High Altar, which would have had only a low retable. "The shrine of the most illustrious King Edward the Confessor was placed on high like a candle upon a candlestick, so that all who enter into the House of the Lord may behold its light." *

Some Bohemian travellers who visited the church in 1466 wrote with admiration of the large golden coffin covered with precious stones, and noticed among the relics the stone with the marks of Christ's feet, which, as we shall see, was given by Henry III.; also the girdle of the Virgin.† Trevisano, an Italian, describing a visit in 1497, says: "I saw one day the tomb of King Edward in the Church of Westminster, and, truly, neither St. Martin of Tours, nor anything else that I have

* *Liber Trinitatis.*

† Pawolowski, S. Commentarius Brevis, &c., 1577.

ever seen, can be put into any comparison with it."* Offerings to the shrine continued to be made until the Dissolution. Edward I. dedicated to it the crown of Llewellyn and his Scottish spoils. Richard II. gave a costly silver tablet enamelled with the story of the Confessor and the Pilgrim, which had been presented to him by the citizens of London.† "At St. Edward's shrine," writes Caxton, "remaineth the print of King Arthur's seal in red wax closed in beryl, on which is written 'Patricius Arthurus,'" &c.‡

Directly against the west end of the shrine was the altar of St. Edward, which is mentioned in the order for the coronations, and in the Cambridge manuscript a miniature shows a priest at a lectern by the shrine, singing *Te Deum laudamus*.

Right and left of the altar were isolated pillars, which supported images of the Saint and the Pilgrim. Four silver basins for lamps at the shrine were amongst the gifts of Henry III. From the Book of Customs, compiled by Abbot Ware, about the time of the opening of the church,§ it appears that these were suspended in a transverse row, two over the shrine, one to the North over the tomb of Edgitha, the Confessor's wife, and one to the South over the tomb of Matilda, queen of Henry I., both of whom lie unmarked under the mosaic floor of this chapel. To the east of the shrine must have

* "Account of England": Camden Society.

† Fabyan speaks of it as being at the shrine "to this day," a passage significantly omitted in the second edition.

‡ Prologue, "Morte d'Arthur."

§ Just published by the Bradshaw Society.

stood the altar of relics, until later it gave place to the elevated relic chapel formed by the chantry of Henry V. A relic altar was then placed on the north side of the shrine.*

Henry III.'s tomb occupies the usual founder's place on the north side. It is similar to the basement of the shrine, of marble, porphyry, and glittering gold tesseræ, and it supports a beautiful effigy of gilt bronze (c. 1290). Notice on the column to the west of the tomb a tiny recess, about 6 in. by 1½ in. Did it once hold a relic? The recesses beneath the tomb almost certainly contained relics, and right at the back of each, hidden in the shadow, is a mosaic cross. Next eastward is the tomb of Queen Alianor (d. 1290), with a most lovely statue of gilt bronze once set with jewels. At her tomb lights were kept burning night and day for about two hundred and fifty years, so says Fabyan.

The tomb next in order of date is that of Edward I. (1307), a chest of plain polished black marble. On great occasions it was covered with cloth of gold. Queen Philippa's tomb to the south-east (d. 1369) is of white marble sculpture and minute tabernacle work, on a basis of black marble. Next to her, westward, is the tomb of Edward III. (d. 1377), with a recumbent statue, and, on the outside, little "weepers," of gilt bronze. Next again, both in position and order of time, is the tomb of Richard II. and Anne, his queen, which was begun in 1394. The effigies of the king and queen are

* Stanley's "Memorials." The Feast of Relics was July 16. See Westm. Cal. in Psalter, 2 A 22, at the British Museum. Jan. 5, Edward K. and C.; Jan. 12, Octave of; Oct. 13, Translation of; Oct. 20, Octave.

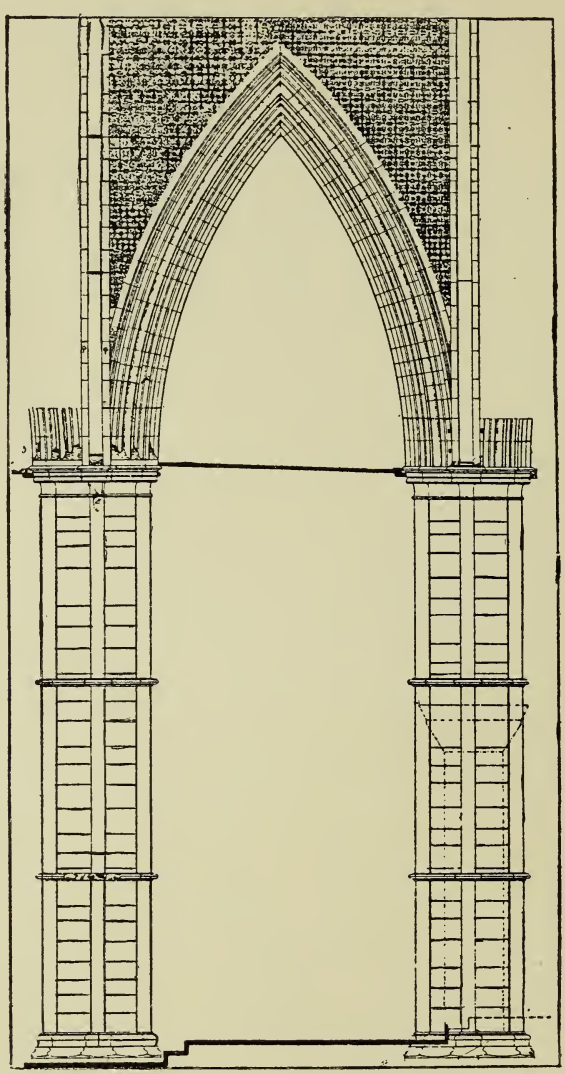

Fig. 4.—Bay of the Interior of Presbytery (Lower Storey). By Mr. S. Vacher

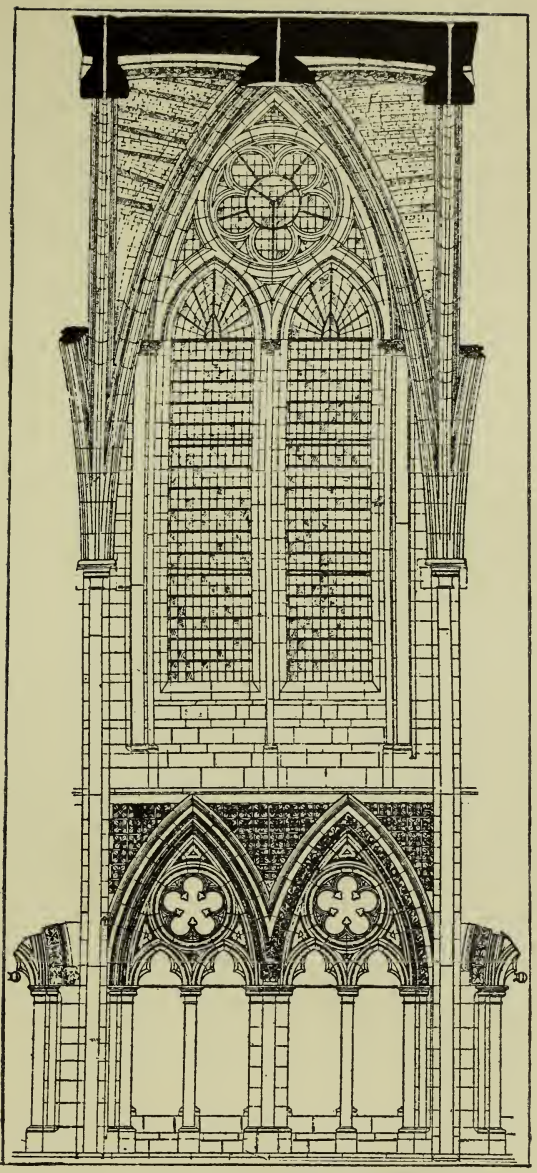

Fig. 5.—Bay of the Interior of Presbytery (Upper Storey). By Mr. S. Vacher

of gilt bronze, their robes covered with delicately engraved patterns. Above is a beautifully painted tester. About the tomb "stood four great tapers continually burning."* The whole circle of tombs had testers from the first. That over Philippa's is the earliest now existing, but Alianor's tomb had a contemporary painted canopy, and so must Henry III.'s have had as well.

The last king to be buried in the chapel was Henry V. (1422), and the circuit of tombs having been already completed,† an important monument was built for him by a most ingenious contrivance. An upper chapel, which is supported by little more than two staircase turrets of openwork, spans the ambulatory and covers a portion of the Confessor's chapel just sufficient for the tomb, on which, says Caxton, "is a rich image like himself, of silver and gilt, where he is daily remembered and prayed for." Now only the wooden core of the image remains. The possibilities of the Confessor's Chapel being exhausted, Queen Katherine was laid in the Lady Chapel, and Henry VI. tried to find a place in vain, and was buried at Chertsey.

Henry VII. refounded the Lady Chapel as a second mausoleum.

The floor of the Confessor's chapel is of marble inlaid with mosaic. The state of the pavement seems to show that the shrine has been pushed westward of its first position. Probably the building of Henry V.'s chantry necessitated some rearrangement of the shrine and high altar.

* Caxton.

† Henry IV. was buried at Canterbury.

The Altar and Coronation Chair.

In the splendid painted panel now preserved in the Deanery we have the only known remnant of the Altar. This is a long panel about 11 ft. by 3 ft., with paintings set in gilt tabernacles ornamented with gesso, and made "glistering" with inlaid glass imitating enamels. It is clear on comparing it with some of the large pieces of goldsmithery of the time, such, for instance, as the shrine at Evreux, and another in the cathedral library at Rouen,* that it was intended to resemble a piece of goldsmith's work set with enamel and jewels. Viollet-le-Duc speaks of it as "an object perhaps unique in Europe . . . one of the most ancient of the great movable retables known, which, by its dimensions, could only have belonged to the chief altar of the celebrated abbey. If it is not of French make it resembles similar work of the middle of the thirteenth century, of which some *débris* remains, and it gives us a good idea of the perfection of such furniture, made in a manner now entirely forgotten."†

It is clearly a work made about 1270, and may very well have been the original retable placed on the altar for the consecration service of 1269.‡ In style it would have harmonised perfectly with the gold shrine which rose above and behind it.

We possess also an account § for a marvellous

* In these we get short lengths of enamels set in borders just like the glass imitations in the retable.

† "Dict. Mobilier." *Cf.* our p. 263.

‡ Or it may have been a frontal for the Altar.

§ Printed in "Gleanings."

gold-embroidered frontal for the great altar, which was set with jewels and enamels. Four women were engaged in making it for three years and nine months, and it cost the immense sum of £280, nearly £3000 of our money. It must have been the most splendid piece of "Opus Anglicanum" embroidery ever wrought. This also was doubtless in place at the dedication. In the "Customs" a "precious frontal" and others are mentioned in the directions for ornamenting the altar. A careful drawing of the Presbytery, made on the occasion of Abbot Islip's funeral in 1532, and now at the Society of Antiquaries, shows the altar in its later state after the high stone reredos had been built; but above the reredos was a Rood beam, which was probably part of the original arrangement. On either hand of the Crucifix were figures of Mary and John, and beyond them two cherubim.*

From several accounts of Henry III.'s time it appears that this was a common arrangement. Below the Rood the drawing shows a tester above the altar, and figures of SS. Peter and Paul. It is likely that it also existed from the first. An order of 1243 directs that the crowns of SS. Edward and Edmund, the keys of St. Peter, and the sword of St. Paul should be well gilt. All these may have belonged to the Rood beam.†

Between the High Altar and the shrine stood the

* Engraved, but not well, in "Gleanings." The suspended tabernacle for the sacrament is made to look like a turret. For a similar composition dating from the XIIIth Century, see MS. Bible I.D.L. in the B.M.

† Sharpe's MS., Cal. Close Rolls.

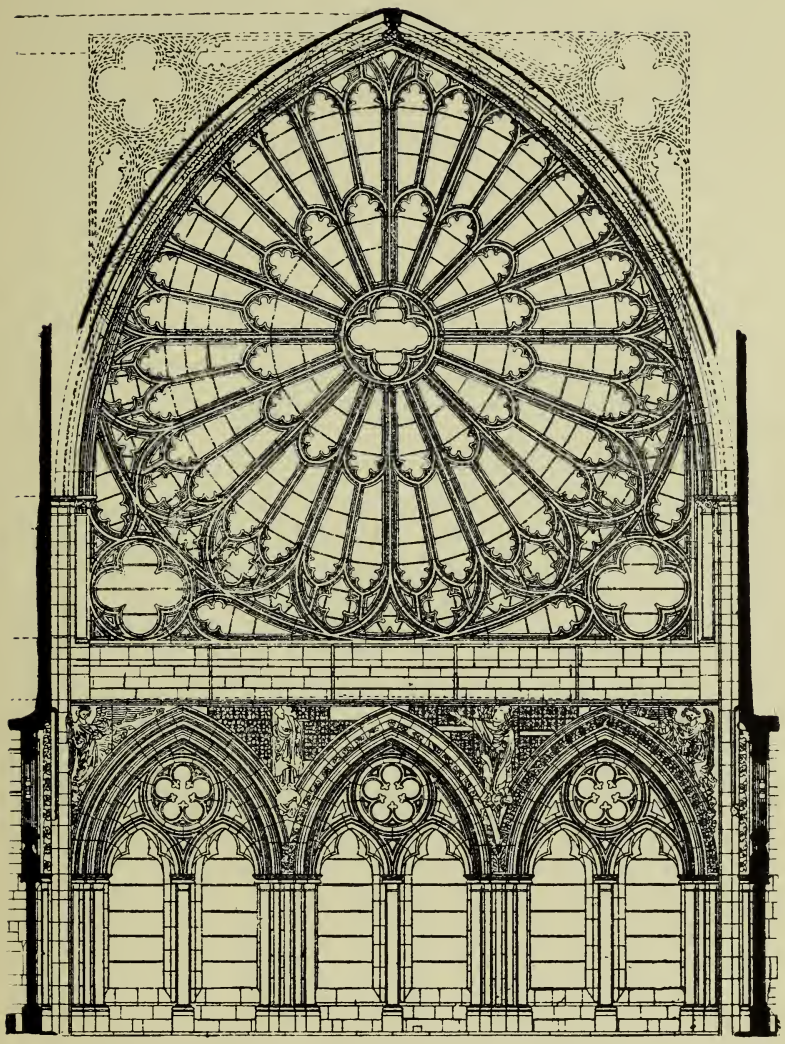

FIG. 6.—Upper Storey of S. Transept. By Mr. J. A. Slater

Coronation Chair and the famous stone of Scone on a stage or low platform, and facing west like a bishop's throne in a basilica. The original bill for it, which has been preserved, speaks of it as "a chair for the Scotch stone by the altar and in front of the feretrum."* A Scottish account, which seems to have been written only a little later than the removal of the stone from Scone, tells how it had become "le sege du prestre a ce haute auter" at Westminster.† The chair is of wood, patterned over with elaborate designs of gesso. It was entirely gilt except for some inlays of glass imitating enamels. The ugly lions at the bottom are comparatively modern.

The Presbytery.

The floor in front of the altar is a mosaic of porphyry and Italian marbles. Inlaid in the marble is an inscription of brass letters which gives the date of 1268, so this was also in place at the dedication of the church.

The romantic canopied stone tombs to the left of the altar and the wooden sedilia on the right were entirely covered with gilding, patterned gesso, inlays of coloured glass, and with painting; they all probably belong to the first third of the fourteenth century. Frederick of Würtemburg, who visited the church in 1592, noted that "the beautiful tombs of kings and queens" were "all covered over

* The stage for it is mentioned in the account. See *Archæol. Journal*, xiii.; and *cf.* G. C. Scott, "Eng. Church Archr."

† Skene, Chron. Picts and Scots. "Beside the shrine of St. Edward" (Robt. of Gloucester). "For a mass priest to sit in . . . in a chair of old time made full fine" (Harding).

with gilding." The reclining statues of these tombs were highly painted, so that they seemed like the knights and ladies themselves in their most splendid robes. High above these tombs were testers, which are shown in the earliest views of the interior.

The sedilia—or more properly the presbyteries—the seats of the clergy to the south of the altar, are placed directly above the tomb of the supposed founder of the church, Sebert, and formed one work with it, so that the whole is usually called "Sebert's tomb." According to Walsingham, Sebert's body was brought from the cloister to this place in 1308, and it is evident that the arch over the tomb and the sedilia are of this date, and make part of one composition. The panels contained large paintings of the founders, Sebert and Edward the Confessor, and of other kings and saints ; two of those on the inside are still in fair condition and are most noteworthy. At first the tomb proper must have been visible from the presbytery through the low arch, which later was filled up. A consistent plan seems to have been maintained from the first that the altar and all that was placed near to it should be gilt. We must try to imagine the dazzling shrine, the altar with all its furniture, the coronation chair, the sedilia, and the tombs, all like colossal pieces of goldsmiths' work, when they were lighted up by many lamps suspended from a great silver circle* and reflected in the mirror-like floor.

The Inventory of 1388† makes mention of a

* Henry III. gave such a circle in 1246.

† *Archæologia*, vol. 52.

canopy for the King's Cage (Cawagium) by the great altar. The editor of the Inventory gives reasons for thinking that this "cage" must have been the King's Pew. It probably stood to the west of the sedilia.* We may think of it as a screen of tracery enclosing the royal seats and richly painted and gilt. Occupying the south-west bay of the presbytery it would have completed its splendidly decorated furniture and monuments.† "Two drawing purple curtains for the [Lenten] Veil before the High Altar" are noted in the Suppression inventory. The reredos or screen which now divides the presbytery from the Confessor's Chapel is of fifteenth-century work. The arrangement of the sculptures of the life of the Confessor on the east side in a series of loops is exactly like similar loops in Henry V.'s chantry, and the detail of the niche canopies is almost identical with the tabernacle from Margaret Woodville's Chapel of St. Erasmus (once by the Lady Chapel), which is now placed above the entrance to one of the northern chapels. We may with great probability say that it was erected during the reign of Edward IV., for the filling, at the back of Sebert's tomb, which was probably done at the same time as the screen, bears the badges of Edward IV. The eastern side of the screen is still in an authentic condition, and some vestiges of painting—blue and vermilion—are yet to be seen on the tracery. Dr. M. R. James has pointed out that the sculptures

* Mr. Micklethwaite.

† A chantry at Salisbury "was vulgarly called the cage, and used as a pew." "Bib. Topog. Brit." vi. p. 80.

of the frieze closely resemble the pictures in a MS. Life of the Confessor at Trinity College, Cambridge.* "Both in selection and in composition the pictures in the MS. are so closely related to the sculptures that the latter might well be supposed to have been adapted from them."

The western side of the screen was defaced in 1705 when a new altar-piece was set up. Enough was found when it was altered again and again by Wyatt and Scott to show that it had been similar to the eastern side, except that in the middle, occupying the space of five niches, was a recess for a (probably sculptured) retable. The whole had been decorated in colour, the ground red and azure, the mouldings and carvings gilded. These restorations, however, succeeded in removing the original traceried wood doors of the screen which had remained until this time.† If we may judge from the drawing on the Islip Roll the statues to the left of the altar were ecclesiastics and those to the right (sainted) kings.

The Crossing and Coronation Stage.

The lower floor of the presbytery—the square at the crossing of the church—was separated from the transepts by screens. The floor was about 18 in. higher than at present, and here stood the Paschal candlestick between the tombs of two abbots.‡ It had seven branches, and must have been of great size. To the west would have stood the matins or choir altar, mentioned in the

* B. 10, 2.

† See Neale and "Gleanings."

‡ Sporley MS.

Book of Customs. Again, the directions of Henry VII. for masses, provided that they should be sung "at the altar under the lantern place between the Quire and the High Altar" until his new chapel was "fully edified." In this space at the intersection of the two vistas of the church, has, from the first, always been set up the throne for the coronation. It was placed on a stage covered with tapestry and cloth of gold ; above was a tester of silk hung around with little silver bells. The order for the coronation of Richard II. provided that a square stage covered with tapestry and railed about, and with flights of stairs eastward and westward, should be set up "close to the four high pillars between the Quire and the Altar." In the earlier order of 1307 it is also directed that the throne should be placed between the monk's choir and the presbytery of the great altar. From this stage at the centre of the church the Archbishop appealed to the people whether the king should be crowned, and they cried out, "Let it be done." Here the oath was taken by the king : To grant the laws and customs and franchises of the people, to guard the peace, and to do justice in mercy. To all which young Edward swore—"Je le graunt, je le garderez, je le ferez." The accounts for the coronation of Edward I. show that a similar stage, called a "pulpitum," with tester and silver bells, was prepared at the same place for him and his queen, Alianor of Castile.

The stage was so much elevated that men might ride under it. For the coronation of Edward III. the stage ("pulpitulum") and canopy were covered

with tapestry, samite, and cloth of gold. The rails of the altar, the pavement and the tomb of Edward I., were also covered with cloth of gold.*

At the crossing were set up the state herses where dead kings lay before their burial.†

The Choir and Pulpitum.

The choir extending westward from the crossing was separated from the nave by double walls supporting a loft called the pulpitum. In the centre of the structure was the choir door. A plan‡ made about 1715 for Wren shows the choir stalls, the screens separating the crossing from the transepts, and the position of the pulpitum.

The stalls were destroyed in 1775; the plan shows sixty-four in all, and agrees with a description printed in 1708 which says that there were twenty-eight stalls on each side and eight at the west end.§

The stalls are shown in Sandford's "Coronation of James II.": their arched canopies were supported by slender shafts with moulded annulets and caps. Two of the carved misericords still exist, and also what is probably a portion of one of the carved divisions || (Figs. 7 and 8). These may be parts of the work begun in 1253, when Jacob was the "Junctor." Dart (1723), who says that the stalls were crowned with acute Gothic arches supported by

* Brayley and Britton, Palace of Westminster, pp. 119 and 143.

† See Sandford's account of the funerals of Henry VII. and of the Duke of Albemarle.

‡ In the possession of Mr. Lee. § Hatton's "New View."

|| "Gleanings." Sandford shows a level cornice, and this may have been original.

pillars, and that the abbot's and prior's stalls were respectively to the right and left on entering, adds that in the further ends on the south side "is remaining the painting of Richard II. . . . The lower parts of the picture are much defaced by the backs of those who fill that stall; which, if I mistake not, is the place of the Lord Chancellor when the House of Lords repairs here. . . . Proceeding, we rise by the first ascent towards the altar to the second or lower pavement. On each side of it are doors entering into the transepts; hence by another ascent we come to the altar." As will be shown further on, the existing portrait of Richard II. was painted for this position in the choir. Such were the stalls from which the monks "repeated from quire to quire the thanksgiving of the convent." * A new "great book" for the lectern in the middle of the choir was provided in 1399.

Fig. 7.—The Old Stalls

At Easter and other feasts the floor was strewn with green stuff, partly for the sake, I suppose, of the scent, as in the Romance of the Holy Grail—"The hall was strewn with flowers, and rushes, and sweet herbs, and gave out a smell like as it had been sprinkled of balm."

The choir and presbytery would have been ornamented with hangings. Abbot Berkinge had given some † on which the story of the Confessor

* Matthew of Westminster. † Sporley.

was wrought, and Mary, Countess of Pembroke, left others on which the arms of Aylmer de Valence were figured.* Weever, writing in 1631, tells us of "cloths of Arras which adorn the choir," and he gives the Latin verses from one which represented a coronation (? the Confessor's);† others depicted the stories of the Confessor and the Pilgrim, and the Adventure with a Thief, also

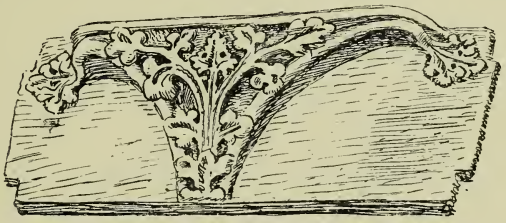

Fig. 8.—Original Misericord

inscribed with verses. These tapestries, which we may conclude from the subject—the Life of the Confessor—were ancient, were ejected in 1644, but the tradition of hanging the presbytery with cloths was kept up. Hollar shows the interior so decorated on the occasion of the coronation of Charles II.‡

When Alianor of Castile had her chamber tapestried the people of the time said it was "like a church." §

Some portions of the plain stonework which

* Sharpe's Wills.

† *Hanc regum sedem ubi Petrus consecrat aedem*, Weever, p. 45.

‡ Keepe, writing in 1681, says that the tombs were "visible but by drawing the hangings which are hung before them for the better adornment of this place."

§ Quoted by Hudson Turner.

may be seen on each side of the present choir gates appear to be ancient and may have formed part of the pulpitum. The loft of the pulpitum was served by two staircases, which would have occupied some of the space between its two walls. The western part of the church was shut off from the choir by this structure and the nave had its own altars. The principle nave altar must have been placed some distance to the west and in front of the door to the choir against a screen. To the right and the left of the central altar were two others, and above in the loft was a fourth. In the Book of Customs we get this group of altars thus defined in an account of the lights: The Altar of Holy Cross in the Nave (that is the central altar): the Altar of St. Paul and the Crucifix, to which, for kissing the feet of the Crucifix, the people ascended the steps on one side and descended on the other (that is from the loft): the old Altar of St. Mary (on the left "by the North door" some accounts say): the Altar of Holy Trinity (the remaining altar and, therefore, on the south side).

This arrangement persisted until the Reformation, and the Suppression inventory names the "Jesus altar below" (Holy Cross) and the "Jesus altar above" (St. Paul and the Crucifix).*

There cannot be a doubt that the Jesus altar above was on the pulpitum, for the inventory associates with it "a pair of organs," and organs were usually placed on those lofts, from which also the Epistle was read. The organs of the church

* *Cf.* Durham rites, and Mr. S. John Hope on Gloucester. *Archaeol. Journal*, 1897.

are mentioned as early as 1242. The Bohemian travellers of 1466 spoke of the "music delightful to hear." The "organs" must have been modest things, very different from the big steam-driven machines we now employ to roar at us. The mediæval ideal in music, I fancy, was that expressed in "The Flower and the Leaf":

> "And then the company answered alle
> With voices sweet entuned and so smalle."

It is evident that the Nave Rood or Crucifix at first stood near enough to the loft to allow of Christ's feet being kissed; but there is some evidence in the church that a beam once passed across the nave between the pillars five bays from the crossing.*

While the choir was being built in 1251, Edward of Westminster was ordered to have a large cross placed in the nave of the church at Westminster and to buy two cherubim to stand on each side of the cross.† In the Suppression inventory mention is made of "the Crooked Rood."

Nave, Chapels, and Pavements

The nave is particularly interesting on account of its being one of the very few instances in which builders of a later time tried to make their work like that which they were completing. The general lines are maintained; the "detail" is that of the later time. (Another most important example of this desire for harmony is the nave of Beverley Minster.) In the aisle wall at the

* Mr. Micklethwaite. † Close Rolls, 35 Henry III.

south-west is a projecting gallery with a communication from the abbot's house.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the

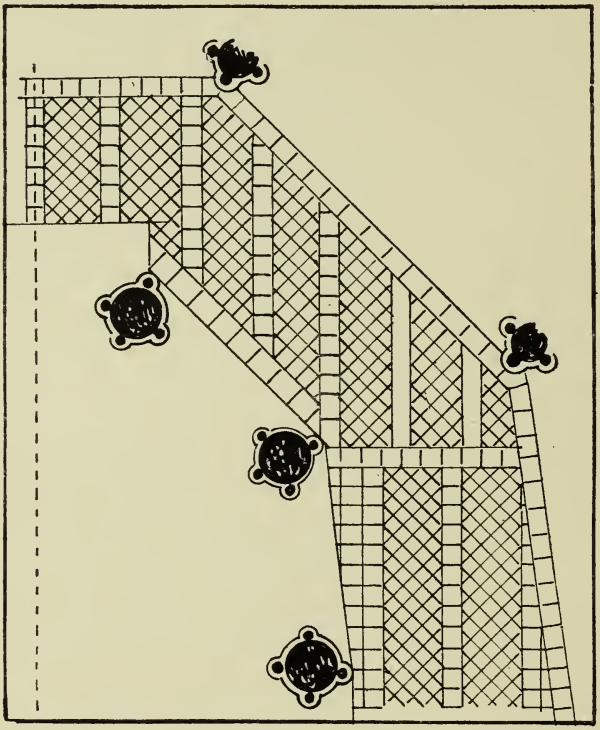

Fig. 9.—Plan of half of the Ambulatory, showing old paving

transeptal and other chapels were enclosed by screens erected by several donors, details of which may be seen in a document printed in Stanley's "Memorials." At this time the eastern door out of the north transept-aisle, which has been recently opened out again, was closed in forming the Chapel

of St. Andrew. St. Michael's Chapel in the central bay of the same transept-aisle still preserves a part of its reredos, and its altar slab stands behind a tomb. The south end of the south transept also was screened off to form the Chapel of St. Blase.

The last vestiges of what must be the original arrangement of the paving of Henry III.'s work are even now visible ; but the arrangement of these slabs is much less clear than when I first noticed it. Its condition forty or fifty years since is carefully shown on the old lithographed plans which stand about the church. The slabs were from Purbeck. In the apse around the ambulatory straight strips running east and west left spaces between them which were filled with squares set diagonally (Fig. 9).

The radiating chapels seem to have been tiled like St. Faith's Chapel, which retains its original floor.

Glass and Colouring.

There is evidence enough to show that the windows, of the ground floor at least, were glazed with grisaille patterned glass, set with morsels of bright colour and charged with heraldic shields. The windows of the apse and the transept roses would have had stories in brilliant ruby and sapphire glass.

The Fabric rolls, as we shall see, show that in the last years before the consecration of 1259 much painting, including figure-work, was done. On the walls, here and there, are some slight vestiges of colour decoration. A good authority writes : "The interior was decorated by being

whitened and stoned in red lines. The diaper work of the triforium was gilt on a red ground ; the sculptured bosses were gilt and coloured."*

The wall arcades may have been decorated in vermilion and gold like the eastern bays of the Chapter House. Some slight stains may be seen on the capitals by the mosaic tomb of Katherine ; and the fine shields in the aisles outside of the choir, with the straps and heads to which they seem to be suspended, still show gilding and colour. The sculptured angels in the south transept also show traces of colour decoration.

The marble-work, which was polished, varied from grey-green to purplish-grey, and this must be thought of as part of the colour scheme.†

I have spoken of the brilliant decorations of the presbytery, and we have seen how splendid were the earlier tombs of gilt bronze, mosaic, and marble.

Even the polished marble and alabaster tombs were touched with gold and colours. A drawing in the Powell Collection at the British Museum shows that the mouldings and carvings of Alianor's marble tomb were gilt, and colouring may still be traced on Langham's tomb. For the decoration of Philippa's tomb see the model at South Kensington.

All the stone tombs, earlier or later, seem to have been brightly painted. For example, the effigy of Abbot Colchester (1420) had gesso enrichments, and the whole tomb was coloured and

* G. G. Scott, jun., " English Church Architecture."

† Parts of the piers in the east aisle of the north transept still preserve the original surface.

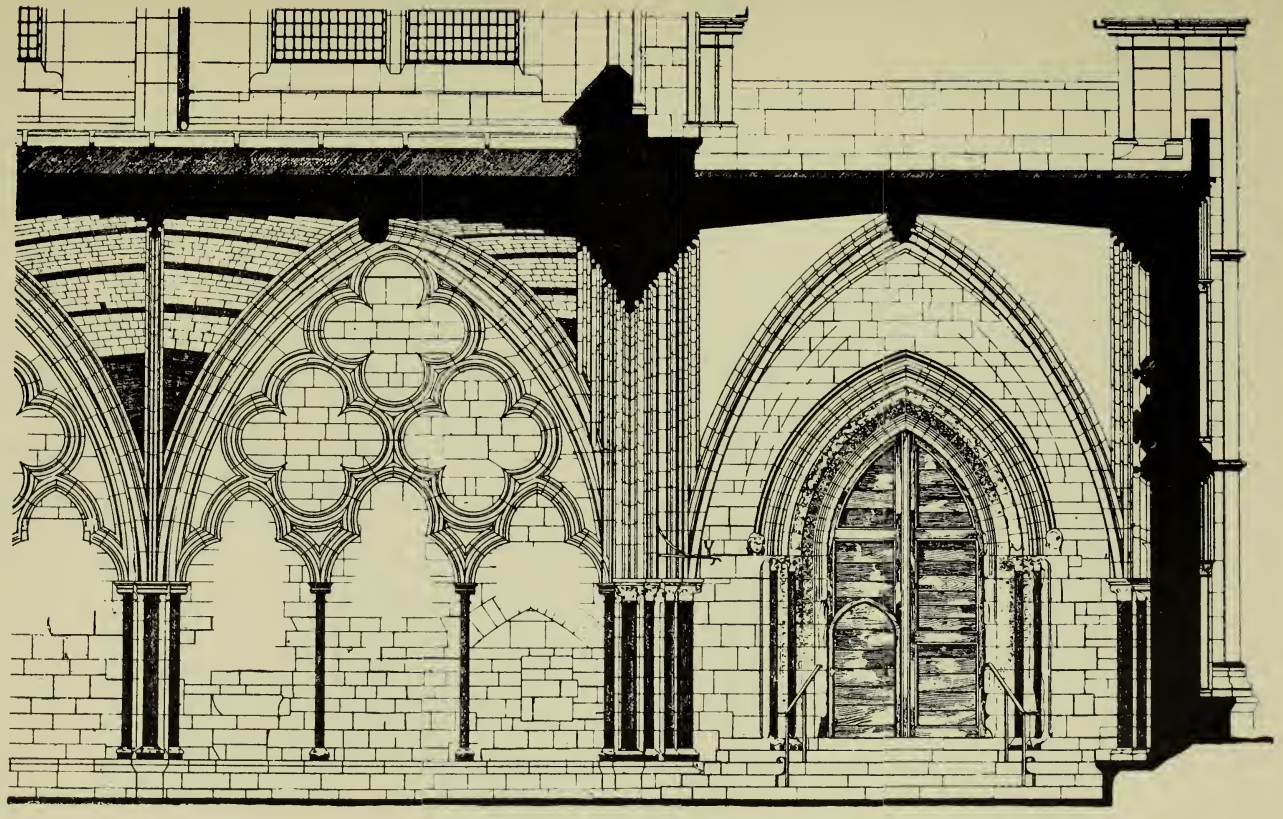

Fig. 10.—Early part of Cloister (*c.* 1245). From a Drawing by Mr. T. MacLaren

gilded.* Most of the tombs had painted testers ; that of the Duchess of York was painted with the Crucifixion on a blue ground studded with stars. Even the ironwork of Henry V.'s tomb was illuminated red and blue, in lengths charged respectively with three lions and three fleurs-de-lys.

The screens of the chapels were also painted. Keepe tells us that the screen of the chapel of St. Andrew in the north transept was " richly adorned with curious carvings and engravings, and other imagery work of birds, flowers, cherubims, devices, mottoes, and coats-of-arms of many of the chief nobility painted thereon. All done at the cost of Edmond Kirton, Abbot, who lies buried on the south side of the chapel under a plain grey marble tomb." Dart says that the screen was " one of the beautifullest pieces of ancient work that I have seen, . . . not long since removed."

In a MS. collection of arms and inscriptions from the church, dated 1680, which is in my possession, there is a coloured drawing of the screen to the chapel of St. Andrew. Its chief feature was a beautiful brattishing, or band, consisting of angels holding shields, and between each pair a blossoming tree " supported " by a crowned eagle and a crow, which hold the ends of a label on which was " *Kyrie elizon.*" In another place was a large rose surrounded by rays, and an inscription with the date 1367.† (Fig. 122.)

This manuscript also shows that the screen of St. Paul's Chapel formed by the fine tomb of Sir

* " Gleanings," and Stothard's Effigies.

† See Appendix. See Fig. 122, but it was probably painted, not carved.

Ludovic Robsart, 1431, not only had a row of coats of arms painted, as may still be traced on the frieze-like band, but that the whole was brilliantly

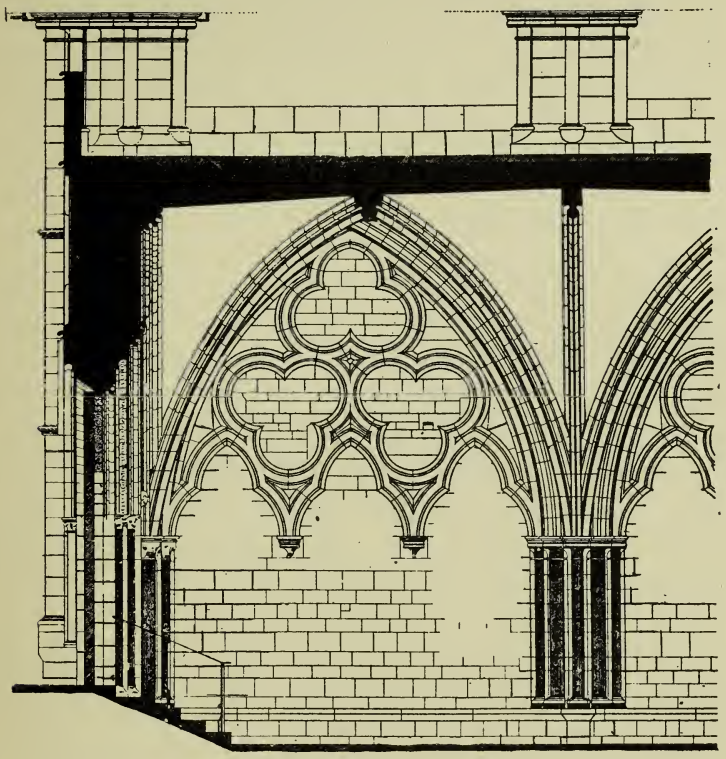

Fig. 11.—Early part of Cloister (*c.* 1245). From a Drawing by Mr. T. MacLaren

coloured and gilded, including the big heraldic beasts and the banners they bear, as well as his crest and garter.* These facts are a mere index to

* A fully-coloured lithograph of this tomb, published last century, shows that the ground colour on the stone-work was blue.

the evidence as to the profuse use of colour, but no index can give any idea of the colour itself. Such a list of blues, reds, and gold may even seem repellant to the reader who has not made a long study of mediæval painting. Every one who makes that study, however, is glad to admit that the old painters were masters of a secret simple as innocence, yet consummate as the tradition of centuries could make it, by which the juxtaposition of bright hues brought about a result at once soothing and exalting, a high harmony of vision.

In trying to think back a picture of the church as it was, we must by imagination set out the treasures of the altar, suspend the coronæ of lights from the vaults, and recall the chanting priests in their splendid vestments, as they passed with their shrines, censers, crosses, and banners along the aisles.* One of the banners, a gift of Henry III., was of red samite embroidered with a dragon of gold, the eyes of which were of sapphire, and whose tongue seemed to move.†

Of one such scene we have an account evidently written by an eye-witness. In May 1307 the Abbey was visited by Peter of Spain, and on this occasion a solemn mass was celebrated in memory of Queen Alianor. Her tomb was lighted up by forty-eight candles placed about it, each weighing 16 lbs.

* See the several inventories; also Gasquet on the Suppression of the Monasteries. A cup called St. Edward's mazer, a cross of beryl, and a dish of precious stone called agate, ornamented with precious stones and pearls, are mentioned. Excheq. Augt. Off. Treas. Roll, 11 m., 109.

† Such a dragon banner was used with another representing a lion. They were called Rogation banners.

Twenty-four candles were placed at the tomb of King Henry, and twelve around the feretrum of St. Edward. Then to the marble columns all along on both sides of the feretrum beams were fixed as far as to the end of the choir, and on the beams candles were placed all the way, not more than a foot and a half apart ; and the monks and all the people carried candles—"So that the radiant lights, like the glory of the starry sky, exhilarated the souls of the beholders with joyousness." *

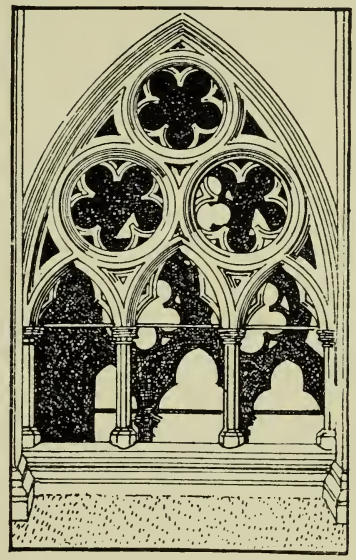

Fig. 12.—Bay of N. Walk of Cloister

Perhaps the most remarkable yearly pageant must have been that of the eve of St. Peter ad Vincula, when by a grant of Henry III. eight bucks of Windsor forest were delivered in the church so that those who carried them should "make two companies before the High Altar." †

One of the last great spectacles of the old order of things was on the occasion of Wolsey's receiving the Cardinal's hat in 1515. The mass was sung by the Archbishop of Canterbury, many other bishops and abbots being present, he of Rochester being crosier-bearer to the Archbishop. Colet

* Chron. Reigns of E. I. and E. II. † Close Rolls, *passim*.

preached, and said that "a Cardinal represented the Order of Seraphim, who continually burneth in love, and therefore he only is appareled in red, which colour only betokeneth nobleness." During the prayers the Cardinal "lay gravelling" (*sic*) before the altar, and the Archbishop set the hat upon him.*

* Cal. State Papers, Hen. VIII.

CHAPTER II

CLOISTER AND PRECINCTS

The Cloister: Chapter House: Rose Decoration: Refectory: Belfry and Precincts.

> "*In these cloisters I have passed, perhaps, some of the most rational hours of my life. In each renewed perambulation round its endless aisle I still found my thoughts ever receive some new sensations.*"
>
> JOHN CARTER.

The Cloister.

OUR best authority for the cloister is the account given by Keepe: "I shall trouble you a little longer by leading you out of the Church into the cloister which you are let into by two doors. By that towards the west was the picture of Our Saviour Christ nailed to the Cross, the Virgin standing on one side and St. John on the other, curiously painted and very pitiful to behold. And round about the sides of these cloisters were other noble paintings with a variety of verses alluding to the history of the foundation and the figures. On every side opposite to the walls, where now are only frames of wood, were fine glazed windows of tinctured glass of divers colours, and over the entrance into the Chapter House was placed the statue of the Blessed Virgin and Our Saviour in her arms and two angels on each side, all richly enamelled and set forth with gold and blue, some vestigia of all which are still remaining whereby to judge of the former splendour and beauty thereof." *

* H. Keepe, 1683.

The Crucifixion by the seat of the Master of the Novices (mentioned above) had been made to the order of the Prior Merston, who died in 1376.*

The present shafts and capitals of the north walk of the cloister are mostly ancient, and some authority for the cusping of the sub-arches is still evident at the west bay ; the cusping of the circles is modern, but doubtless resembles what was once the form.† The glazing spoken of by Keepe must have filled the tracery heads of the openings, or fenestrals, as it will be convenient to call them, down to the iron bar. Some fragments of glass remained, I believe, before the restoration, and in one or two of the smaller spandrels of the tracery are still to be found the iron margins to which the glass was attached by pins. The bays of the north-east angle, which form part of the earliest work of Henry III., are particularly remarkable. See Figs. 10 and 11. I have drawn one of the external fenestrals of the north side for the sake of the shadowing, which is one of the great beauties of such traceried arcades (Fig. 12).

Carter engraved the beautiful Decorated bays of the eastern walk before they were rebuilt by Blore about 1835,‡ whose copy seems to have been what we call accurate, save that Purbeck marble was not used for the shafts. Some *ancient* base stones in the triforium, which were evidently prepared for this work or other similar bays and discarded, show sockets for Purbeck shafts. The groove for glaz-

* See Document in Stanley's "Memorials."

† The circles were grooved for such cusps.

‡ See W. Caveler also.

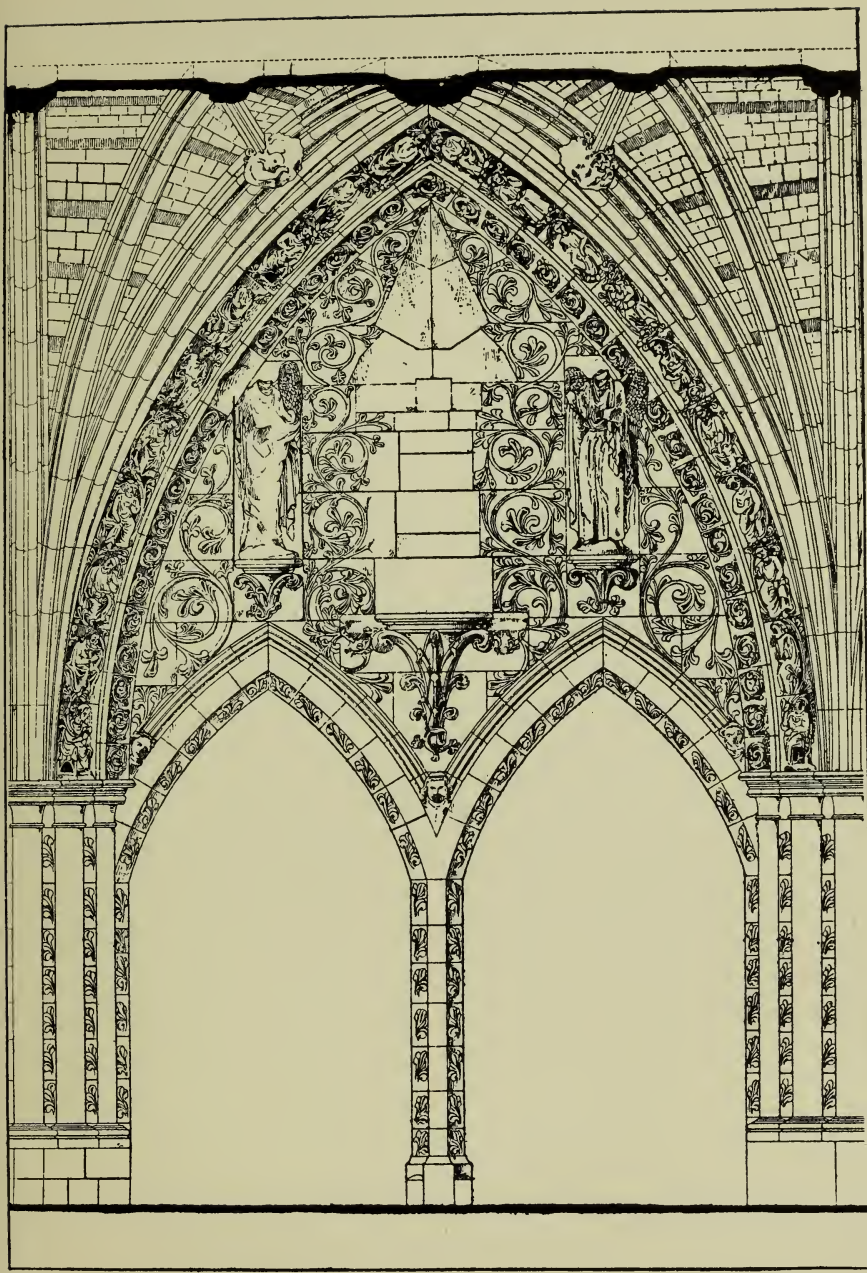

Fig. 13.—Doorway from Cloister to the Chapter House. By Mr. F. G. Knight, 1873

ing the tracery was also omitted by Blore. The state of the cloister a century since is described in detail by Carter. In the west walk one of the fenestrals had lost its tracery; the north and east walks were nearly unaltered. Of the south walk he says, "the tracery from six of the eight windows was cut away about seven years ago." These bays were entirely rebuilt by Scott, who says that the tracery of the south walk had been entirely lost before his time;* but he appears to have meant the cusping, as the main divisions existed in two bays till 1820 at least, and are shown in a careful engraving by Neale. Neale also shows the west walk, of which the forms of the openings were as at present, except that the cusping only remained to the heads of the lights, and none to the tracery. A few of the jamb-stones and mullions of the west walk fenestrals are still ancient, and one narrow bay at the north-west corner, which appears to be a copy made in Wren's time of the original work, is untouched. The forms of the cusping of this bay, which are echoed again in the iron gates set up about 1750, are not followed in the new work, although it would seem that they would have been the best guide for it. Up to the present time the inner walls and vaults of the cloister walks remain untouched save for a newly-made recess at the south-west corner which is supposed to represent a monk's lavatory, but, as no one proposes to wash here now, it is a mere toy. The vaults and side walls are most terribly decayed, but the experiments made of the preservative effects of

* "Gleanings."

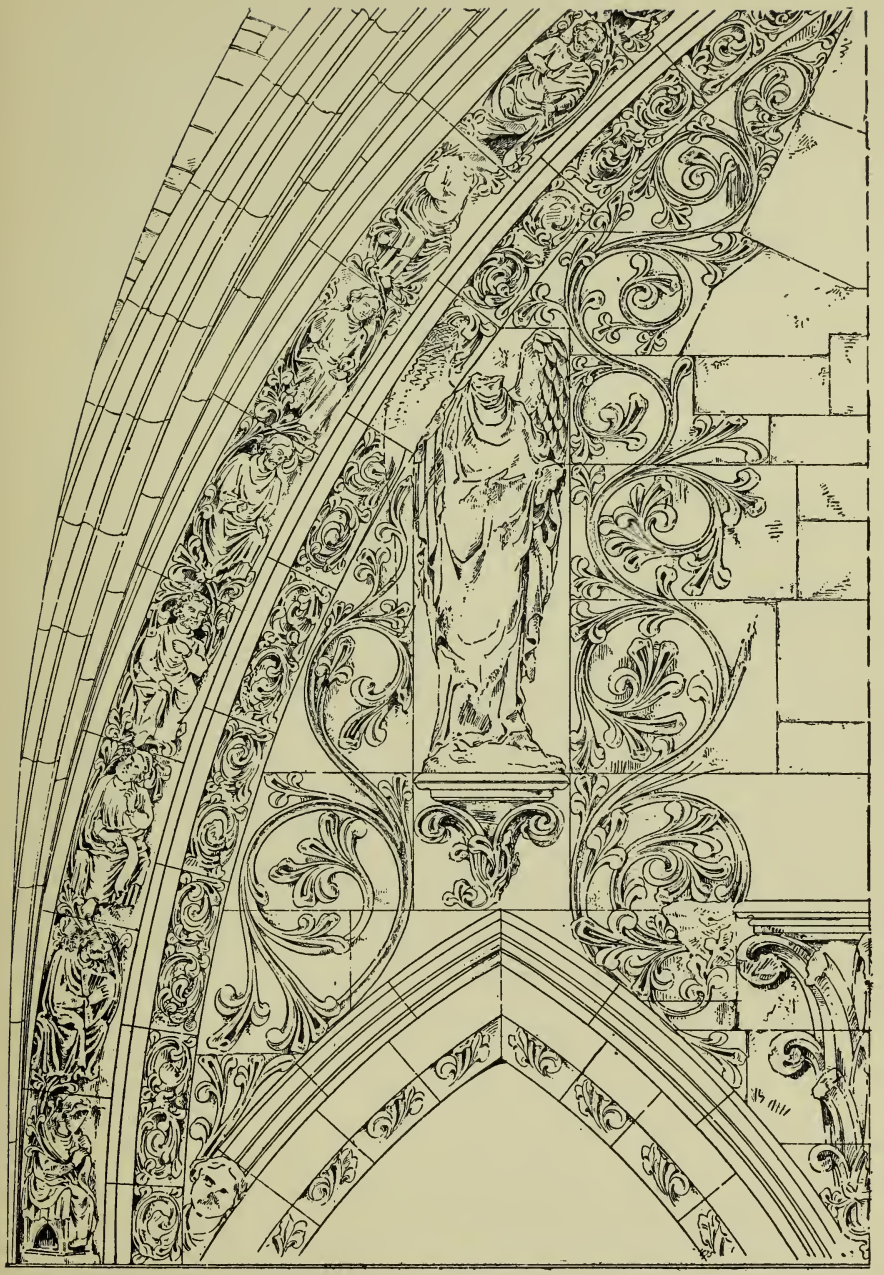

Fig. 14.—Enlarged detail of the last

whitewash in the vaulted passages which lead out of Dean's Yard show that this leprosy might still be cleansed by such simple means, were it not that we always prefer to do some great thing in "restoration."

The several ornamental doorways leading from the cloister are practically disappearing by rapid decay. The fine thirteenth-century door from the choir to the cloister (Fig. 10) is represented in an engraving in W. Caveler's book. In the hollow of the moulding are set roses, and there is a fair queen's head to the left and a decayed king's head to the right, Eleanor and Henry probably.

The splendid entrance to the vestibule of the Chapter House is best represented in some excellent drawings published some thirty years ago in the "Sketch-book of the Architectural Association."* (Figs. 13 and 14.) A large part of the injury here followed the application of Scott's Preservative Solution (shellac in spirit, *i.e.*, French polish), which was rashly applied without adequate experiment. This "preservative" was being used in the cloister in 1878, when a protest from the *Athenæum* stopped it.† "The first step towards preservation has been to remove more of the surface than would have perished in a century; . . . on the preserved ribs scarcely a moulding line remains." ‡ We have seen from Keepe's account that the Chapter House door was painted in bright colours. A sketch in the Burges collection at South Kensington shows that the

* Vol. vii., by Mr. F. G. Knight, who has been so good as to allow me the use of the originals.

† Aug. 17 and 31.

‡ *Builder*, Sept. 7, 1878.

foliage was of vermilion and gold on a background of blue. The sculptures are described in chap. xii.

Chapter House.

The outer vestibule of the Chapter House is low because the dormitory passes over it, but it is extremely pretty and a perfect introduction to the burst of glory beyond. In the inner vestibule the window on the right is a restoration of Scott's, for which he thought he had found some authority, but how much is doubtful. The west wall of this inner vestibule is one of the best preserved parts of the fabric; being very much out of sight it has been hardly at all tampered with, and a dark ochre wash still protects the stone. Where this skin has been broken through decay is rapidly taking hold of the stone. In the outer vestibule, a later phase of the same process may be followed, there most of the surface is eaten away and only very little of the protective coat remains. There is a crypt beneath the Chapter House with walls no less than eighteen feet thick, with a joint in the walling five feet from the outside. It would seem that it was begun of a smaller size, and that the outer thickening was added before the superstructure was commenced.

The noble Chapter House and crypt must have been begun concurrently with the church. Matthew Paris speaks of it as "the incomparable Chapter House," under the year 1250, and indications in the fabric accounts prove that it was completed as a structure by 1253. The Rolls of Parliament show that it was early used for the

assembly of Parliament, but the monks retained the use of it until the Dissolution. The state of the Chapter House before restoration is fully described by Carter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and later in Scott's "Gleanings." In his "Recollections," Scott says: "Not a point was missed which would enable me to ascertain the actual design of any part, nor was any old feature renewed of which a trace of the old form remained. I know of no parts which are conjecturally restored but the following: the external parapet, the pinnacles, the gables of the buttresses, and the roof."

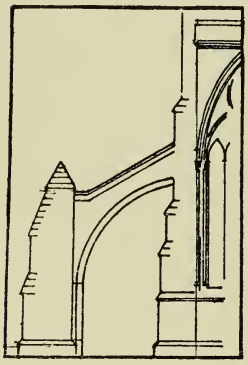

FIG. 15.—From Old Drawing of Chapter House

As to this roof, it is, I think, unlikely that it originally had a steep pyramid; that at Wells still retains a flat roof; the one at Salisbury is a capricious alteration against, I believe, the evidence. For the steep roof of the Lincoln Chapter House reason is found in the gabled roof of the western extension. The Westminster Chapter House had a flat roof within a generation or so of the Dissolution; it so appears in the so-called Aggas Map of London, as well as in the views of Hollar. One of the flying buttresses is shown by a rough sketch in the Crowle Collection at the British Museum. Instead of the gablets there was a low capping directly above the slope of each flyer, and this may have been the original form (Fig. 15). The interior vault stood fast until 1740, when it was assisted to

fall. The central column with its carved capital was still standing when Scott almost discovered this wonderful building. Numbers of the moulded ribs from the vaulting were found walling up one of the windows, and the ancient springers with their hooks for the iron ties still remain. We shall see that the western window was altered at an early time (p. 200) ; it was originally of four lights with tracery like that on the blank north-west side of the octagon, which was found nearly intact. It is unnecessary to speak of the glass, which was probably originally of white pattern-work, as it was at Salisbury Chapter House. Fig. 16 shows the form of the windows.

The sculptured Majesty in the tympanum of the door is modern. Carter says : "The double archway entering the Chapter House has had its dividing column with nearly all its tracery cut away." The fine figures to the right and left are original, and represent

Fig. 16.—Window of Chapter House. Drawn by Mr. H. B. Brewer

the Virgin and the Angel. The carved archivolt and jambs with little figures seated amidst running foliage are untouched and lovely.

The arcade of the interior with its marble columns and capitals is to a great extent original.* The *sculptured* capitals in polished marble on the east side are guaranteed as authentic by Scott, who calls them exquisite. The mouldings and diaper

Fig. 17.—Tile from Chapter House : "the salmon of S. Peter"

here show considerable remnants of gilding and colour. This is represented on the paper cover of an old "Handbook to the Abbey," published by Bell. The lithograph is lettered "Arcades in the Chapter House as originally decorated." The hollows were all coloured black and blue, the mouldings vermilion, the projecting fillets being gilt. The capitals and their abaci were gilt. The diaper in the spandrels was gilt on a vermilion ground. One of the diaper patterns is a most beautiful trellis of naturalistically treated rose.

* The little heads are all or mostly modern ; but see three at the west end of the inner vestibule.

The mid-fourteenth-century paintings in the eastern bays of this arcade are, or rather were (for only some shadowy, but beautiful heads remain), of Christ surrounded by angels. The series from the Apocalypse westward was given by John of Northampton late in the fifteenth century.

The tile floor of the Chapter House is almost

Fig. 18.—Tile from Chapter House floor

entirely ancient, and must be the finest pavement of the kind now existing. It had been protected by a wooden floor up to the early part of last century. Cottingham, in Vol. XXIX. of "Archæologia," noted the discovery of these tiles, and made drawings from them, which were published in 1842.* "On the removal of the boarded floor the pavement was found to be in a very perfect state, few tiles being broken, and the colours in many parts as brilliant as when first laid down." Some

* J. G. Nichols' Gothic Tiles.

of the tiles which form the outer border represent a fine rose window, others display King Henry's arms ; the designs of others are evidently taken from Eastern stuffs, and still others have figure subjects. These last, which I was allowed to examine and draw some ten years ago, are quite as fine as the otherwise unequalled Chertsey series, with which they have much in common. They may even be earlier works by the same maker. The accounts show that they can be dated about 1255. Three varieties, which contain figures of a king, queen, and abbot, must represent Henry III., Eleanor of Provence, and Crokesley. The king, seated on his throne, plays with a brachet, which drags at his master's mantle; the queen has a hawk; and the abbot blesses with hand upraised. A fourth tile represents the Confessor giving his ring to the disguised St. John, and a fifth has two musicians, one playing a harp, the other a fiddle with a bow. The published drawings give little idea of the value and beauty of these tiles ; for instance, the king's dog is omitted altogether. Three other tiles seem never to have been figured ; they represent a deer being chased by a horseman and dog and shot by a bowman. These figured tiles are disposed in two rows exactly south of the central pillar ; between them were some vestiges of an inscription ; one word, I thought was ABBAS.* (See figs. 17 to 25.)

* I fear that the endeavour to protect the tiles by linoleum is not entirely successful. Their surface is turning to dust, and it was only by comparing duplicate tiles that I could make out the subjects. Accurate drawings of them should be made at once. The Chertsey tiles were made, it is believed, *c.* 1270. Although they followed the English

A plan of the whole floor has been printed by H. Shaw. It is clear from the subjects that the tiles were specially designed for Westminster.

Rose Decoration.

One of the spandrels of the eastern wall-arcade is carved into a beautiful trellis of roses, and some of the other spandrels are variations on the same motive. The naturalistic rendering of this rose pattern is quite remarkable, and we may here best mention the profuse way in which roses are used as a decorative theme throughout the church. The exterior jambs of the door from the church to the cloister are set with roses ; so, also, are all the ground-floor arches of the end wall of the south transept, and the end wall of the north transept, and of the western aisle of the latter (Fig. 26). There are roses at the centres of some portions of the square diaper on the walls, and some of the bosses of the ambulatory are roses ; so also are those of the earliest part of the cloister.

It is said that Eleanor of Provence, Queen of Henry III., had a rose for a badge, also that the rose was one of the badges of Henry III.* Boutell says that the badge of Edward I. was a golden rose, "and from it, apparently, was

versions of two Romances (Tristram and Richard), M. Paulin Paris thought that they were French, but as others of the same series were found at Halesowen, it seemed more likely that they were English. The resemblance to the Westminster tiles completes the proof ; some of the details are so much alike in both sets that they may both be designed by one artist.

* "Reliquary" 1884, but no evidence is offered. Ayloffe in Vet. Mon., 1780. The use of badges at this early time is doubtful.

Fig. 19.—Tile from Chapter House floor

Fig. 20.—Tile from Chapter House floor

derived, but by what processes are unknown . . . the red rose of Lancaster." Both Edward I. and Edmund, earl of Lancaster, were sons of Henry III. and Eleanor, and the rose was used scores of times as a recurring decoration painted on the mouldings of Edmund's tomb.*

Fig. 21.—Tile from the Chapter House floor

Not only are there painted roses on his tomb, but one of the little shields on the south side hangs to an exquisitely carved rose-tree. The shield, if my memory is not at fault, is that of Provence. On the tomb of his wife, Aveline, roses are painted in the same way, alternating with the arms, and the arch is set around with carved roses. Again, in

* Camden remarks, "Edmund Crouchback, first earl of Lancaster, used a red rose wherewith his tomb at Westminster is adorned."

Fig. 22.—Tile from Chapter House floor

Fig. 23.—Tile from Chapter House floor

Fig. 24.—Tile from Chapter House floor

Fig. 25.—Tile from Chapter House floor

1240, Henry III. ordered "the Chamber of our Queen" at the Tower to be whitened and "newly painted with roses." We might suppose that an introduction of the "Rose of Provence" by the queen would account for all this; but we are told that Crouchback, who in 1272 married Blanche, widow of the Count of Champagne, and lived much at Provins, brought from thence the roses, incorrectly called *Provence* roses, to England.* In the guide-book accounts of Provins we read that it has for centuries been celebrated for roses, improperly called Provence roses, which have a rich crimson hue, and they are said to have been brought by Crusaders from the Holy Land.†

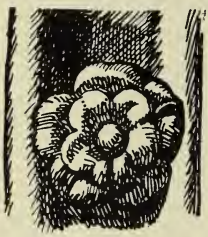

Fig. 26.—Rose Decoration

Henry III. decorated with roses his church which was begun in the same year that Edmund was born. For this there may be no other reason than that it was an epoch of rose culture and admiration; of this there is abundant proof. Roses at this time were prized in gardens, were the fashionable flower for chaplets, and to this age belongs the Romaunt of the Rose. Amiens and other contemporary buildings in France have rose decorations.

* Stanley's "Memorials," and Dict. Nat. Biog.

† Thibault IV. of Champagne, it is said, brought from Syria the famous red or purple rose cultivated at Provins. C. Joret, "La Rose dans l'Antiquité," &c., 1892.

Refectory, &c.

The rest of the Abbey buildings to the south of the church have been almost completely elucidated by Mr. Micklethwaite. Over the vestibule of the Chapter House ran the dormitory, with a little passage crossing the end of St. Faith's Chapel to the stair in the south-west corner of the south transept, the door of which may still be seen.* The spiral stair itself is shown in Wren's plan.

The Refectory, originally a noble hall of Norman work, had a long timber roof. From the roof hung a large crown of lights, the fall of which is mentioned by Caxton. Over the high table was painted a great Majesty which seemed to reign over the assembled monks. The tables were set with cups and salts of silver. South of the Refectory stood the Misericord, Kitchen, and other buildings.

In the Customs of Abbot Ware (1266), together with a full account of the daily life of the monks, there are many incidental references to the buildings. We hear of the Guest-house of the Misericord, the "Scriptoriæ Domus" and the Sacristy. Also of the Lavatory by the Refectory door, and of an alteration in the kitchen by which it was put in better communication with the Refectory.†

The upper part of the gate tower through which access is obtained to the cloister from the Elms (Dean's Yard) was rebuilt several years ago. In the niches some stumps of figures remained until a comparatively recent time. It appears from a passage in "Camden's Remains" that images of

* See *Archæol. Journal*, 1876. † Bradshaw Society, 1904.

the Confessor and a pilgrim occupied these positions. This subject, repeated dozens of times in the painted and sculptured imagery of the Abbey, showed how the Confessor, being at Havering, had alms begged from him by St. John disguised as a pilgrim. The king, having nothing else, gave the ring from his finger. The story doubtless originated as an explanation of the name of Edward's manor of Havering. Camden saw the relation, but inverted it, "Havering from taking the ring."

Immediately to the north of the Abbey stands the parish church of St. Margaret. It is said to have been built by the Confessor.* A twelfth-century deed of the Abbot's in the British Museum speaks of it as "in our cemetery." It was rebuilt by the Abbey and the merchants of the staple in the time of Edward I.†—and again still later.

The Belfry.

Further to the north on the site of the present Guildhall stood the belfry which was completed in 1253. This was a most remarkable structure, being an immense, massively built tower 75 ft. square and only about 60 ft. high, which was surmounted by a great leaded spire, on which, as we shall see, plumbers were engaged in 1249–53. It must have been begun concurrently with the church, if not earlier. I doubt whether this belfry ever became the actual property of the church ; it may, I think, in part at least, have been built to represent Westminster town in some sort of competition with

* See Charter in Bentley's "Cartulary." † Stow.

the London bell-house by St. Paul's. Stow says that Henry III., devising how he might extort money, in 1246 appointed a mart to be kept for fifteen days, during which time trade was to cease in London. Stow, when he tells us that this belfry (in the Little Sanctuary) was built for the use of St. Stephen's chapel, shows at least that he did not know that it had belonged to the Abbey. It was, he says, a strong clochard of stone and timber covered with lead, containing three great bells, usually rung at coronations and funerals ; the bells had been taken down and the spire had probably also been destroyed at the time he wrote. The stone tower, however, remained until 1750, when it was drawn and described by Stukely,* who says it was absurd to call it a belfry (not so now that we know of several such structures), but that there was profound ignorance as to its meaning. He, however, states that it was built as an asylum for those who fled into Sanctuary. This seems to be the first statement of the "Sanctuary" theory, which has been repeated ever since with more and more detail, until Sir W. Besant tells us that some of the princes born in sanctuary were born here. Widmore, writing about 1750, says that the tower had been used for two hundred years as a cellar to a tavern, and was by some "imagined" to have been a chapel, but he found it called a Belfry in a charter of 1290, and it continued in use as a bell-tower till Islip built the towers of the church. A generation before Stukely wrote, Strype had given a plan of the structure, and sought to identify it with a

* "Archæol.," vol. i., originals at Soc. Antiq.

church of the Holy Innocents, mentioned in the time of Henry III.

The Abbey church, with its whole Close, was the Sanctuary. When the monastery built houses within the Close, the tenements enjoyed its privileges (thus the Holy Ground of one age was to become the "Alsatia" of another), and doubtless the names of two streets, Broad Sanctuary and Little Sanctuary, arose in consequence. The latter happened to be close to the belfry, and that I suppose is the only original connection between them. The tower, like all belfries, was built very strongly so as to support a great timber bell-cage. The angles of the lower storey were masses of masonry 22 ft. square, and it was only destroyed at great expense. A guild had the bells in charge, one of which was of immense size. They were taken, Norden says, by Henry VIII. before his expedition to Boulogne.

Fig. 27. — Ancient Belfry which stood on the N. side of the Church

In Van den Wyngaerde's View of London appears a large leaded spire which, occupying the right position, could hardly have been anything else than this belfry. It resembled the thirteenth-century belfry which used to stand on the north side of Salisbury Cathedral; and by putting together these indica-

tions we can make a fair approximation to the form of the Westminster bell-house. (Fig. 27).

How famous these bells were may be gathered from the narrative of Simon Simeonis, a travelling monk, who visited London and Westminster in 1322. He says: "Beyond the walls, at the other end of the city, is the monastery of Black Monks called Westminster, in which all the kings of England are buried, amongst whom is the Lord Edward, the most Maccabaean king of the English, who, with the most Christian king, St. Louis of France, passed over the sea with a war host. Here are two bells, the first in the world for size and of admirable sound, and the monastery is close by the palace of the kings of England." Matthew Paris evidently considered that these bells deserved record along with the new church and the shrine of gold. See Fig. 40.

Precincts.

The precincts are best described by Norden, *c.* 1600: "At the end of King's Street, within an old gate, lieth the Sanctuary, having three gates and a postern, whereof one leadeth from the Sanctuary into King's Street, the second into Tothill Street, the third into the Abbey yard and the Almonry, the postern into King ['s Palace ?]. It was called the Great Sanctuary in regard to a lesser which it included called the Little Sanctuary, wherein is a very ancient and old building and strong, now made a dwelling-house, sometime a tower, wherein was a bell of wonderful bigness weighing, as is reported, 33,000 wt. and was rung only at coronations,

which bell King Henry VIII. employed to other uses at his going to Boulogne. The Almonry is a place within the Gate-house towards the Abbey-yard. The Gate-house is a prison, not only for the City of Westminster but for the Shire. There are in the City the long Wool-staple and the round. Yet appeareth an old and large house above the stairs in the south-west angle of the round Wool-staple."* The precinct was walled, or re-walled by Abbot Litlington who also built the gate toward Tothill.† Stow says that the gate was built by Walter de Warfield, the cellarer, in the time of Edward III.; I suppose he acted for Litlington. Some of the trees of the Close are shown in Van den Wyngaerde's drawing, and much of it remained a green cemetery down to the beginning of last century. The position of the walls and gates and the relation of the Church to the Palace are best shown on Sandford's Plan, 1685. See Figs. 1 and 2.

Outside the walls and gates which shut it in there were the few houses of Tothill and Langditch.‡ The principal entrance to the church by the north transept exactly faced the old King Street, which has been destroyed while these pages were being written. From the time of the Confessor to the time of Henry VIII. we may think of

* MS. Harl., 570.

† Bentley's Cartulary.

‡ The bridge over the mill stream was only discovered last year. See *Architectural Rev.*, 1904. The Tothill Gate is figured in Stanley's "Memorials." A part of the King Street Gate, which seemed to be the work of Henry III., is shown by T. T. Smith.

Westminster as a little town, half monastery, half palace. Westminster Hall, the Great Hall of the palace, now alone represents the group of royal buildings which once was gathered around it, as the church represents the monastery. These palace buildings may be sub-divided into four parts: (1) The Public Palace and Justice Hall ; (2) The King's Lodging, with its Painted Chamber covered all over with the work of Master Walter the Painter ; (3) St. Stephen's, the Palace Chapel, the Westminster parallel of St. Louis' Ste. Chapelle in Paris, with its attached cloisters and vicars' houses ; (4) The Exchequer Buildings, the Court of Star Chamber, and the Clock Tower. All these buildings with their gardens were tightly packed within a walled enclosure between the east end of the church and the river bank. So far as I can gather it was probably Knut who first made Westminster his residence. His successor, Harold, was the first of the English kings to be buried in the Abbey church.* Later, the proximity of the the palace reacted on the Abbey, and the church became, in a manner, the great royal chapel attached to the palace, much as St. Mark's is related to the Doges' palace, and the Dom at Aachen to the palace of Charlemagne. Both the rebuildings of the Abbey by the Confessor, and by Henry III., were paid for out of their own

* It is evident from its name, Westminster, that the Abbey existed before the palace. Probably one of the kings took to staying at the Abbey, and eventually built a house close by. As early as the twelfth century it was said that it was at Westminster that Knut rebuked the tide. (Gaimar.)

purses. It is occasionally called the Great Chapel of the Palace, and a right of user was retained in more than one part. The Chapel of the Pyx was the Kings' treasury, the Chapter House was the meeting place of Parliament, and the Confessor's Chapel was the Royal burial place. The Abbey belongs to the State in a far greater degree than does one of the Cathedrals, and the State has continued from time to time to contribute to its repair.

Westminster, after the time of Henry III., must have looked like one of those cities of romance now only to be found in illuminated manuscripts.

Fig. 28.—Arms of Henry III., from the Chapter House floor

CHAPTER III

THE EXTERIOR AND "RESTORATIONS"

The North Transept : Rose Window : The Gable : Middle Stage : Porches : South Transept : The Chevet : The Choir and Nave : West Front : Lantern : Care and Repair.

> "*It is architect's architecture.*"
> W. Morris on the New Casing of the North Transept.

The North Transept.

The exterior of the church has been subjected to such a series of injuries and "improvements" that hardly one old stone of it remains upon another. The original form of the once so beautiful North Transept, with its three great portals, had to a large extent disappeared under a layer of alterations even before the great restoration (1875–90) which made all false.

The Westminster transepts were of such extraordinary interest as showing the progress of London building in the middle of the thirteenth century, that it is worth some trouble to gather up the evidence as to their original form before they were made over in the "Early English" of to-day.

Without being a student of records it is impossible to tell what is even an echo of the ancient work. The expert re-editing of old buildings, with all its pretensions to science, comes in practice to a muddling up of so much *copy* of old work, so much *conjecture*, and so much mere *caprice*, without leaving any record as to which is which. This

actual obliteration of authentic remnants and evidence is what we call Restoration.

One sculptured stone, the boss of the right-hand porch ; one piece of moulded stone, a span long, in one of the statue corbels ; the soffits behind the arches of the first stage ; and some of the plain wall-stones in the recesses here and in the porches, is all of the ancient exterior of the North Transept that would be recognised by Henry the king and Henry the mason as having formed part of their work.

Up to thirty years ago the front, as left by Wren, remained intact. An excellent engraving in " Neale " gives the best representation of this front as it was in 1816. The work of re-casting the porches was commenced before the death of Sir. G. G. Scott. In September 1884 scaffolding was put up to the whole of the North Transept ; in 1886 an application for aid was made to Parliament. Mr. Fowler, in replying on behalf of the Government to criticism, stated that he had received a letter from the Dean saying that " this is no question of beautifying the exterior, but is simply to prevent it from coming down, and it is for that, and nothing else, that the funds are required."* Possibly the public money was required for necessary repairs so as to release all other funds for beautifying, possibly no public grant was made, and having less money a more ambitious scheme may have been thought of ; however this may be, when the close hoarding, which I well remember shut out any view of what was being done, was taken away about 1892, it was

* *Times*, June 17, 1886. Compare below, p. 228.

clear that the whole transept had been very completely "beautified." Restoration schemes are now conducted so far as possible in secret, on the principle that dead buildings tell no tales.

At the latter end of the fourteenth century a large porch, which I shall call the Galilee, was built in front of the central doorway of the North Transept. In 1654, when Hollar made an etching of the front, this Galilee was still standing. It had three long windows in the gable, and a little door beneath. It has been suggested that its purpose was to shelter the sculptures of the central door, but this does not, I think, satisfactorily explain its erection and its destruction. (Fig. 73).

Early in the reign of Richard II., in 1378, a man who had taken sanctuary in the church was killed in the choir, and the church thus desecrated was closed for a time.* Now there cannot be a doubt that the Galilee was added to the church in the reign of Richard II., although Dart's statement that the king's arms and badge were sculptured on it seems to be based on misreading Sandford, who spoke of the north porch of Westminster Hall. A passage in Capgrave's "Chronicle" which relates how, in 1410, a knight was compelled "to take Westminster (sanctuary)," and "there so straited that he dwelt in the porch of the church both day and night," suggests that the Galilee was built with reference to the right of sanctuary after the desecration of the church.

I shall now bring together some notes upon the

* See Stanley's "Memorials."

authorities for the recovery of the best evidences as to the original forms of the North Transept.

(A) In Van den Wyngaerde's "View of London" (c. 1560) there is a sketch of the church which shows the pinnacles of the four great buttresses of the North Front and a fifth pinnacle on the apex of the gable. A similar pinnacle is also shown on the south transept gable.

(B) The little and very rough engraving of the church on Speed's "Map of London" (c. 1610) shows that the pinnacles of the transepts, excepting the two flanking the north gable, had been replaced by low, leaded, turret roofs. The parapets, which both Speed and Hollar show as embattled, may have been re-made at the same time; they usually are among the earliest things to decay.*

(C) Hollar's etching of 1654 is detailed and evidently accurate. It shows that the statues were still in place, and it is probable that the front was in the main uninjured, save by weather, although everything proves that it was much decayed. A little etching by Lodge (1649-89), and two or three smaller views by Hollar, confirm the accuracy of the large etching. In the Pepys Collection at Cambridge there is a rough original sketch by Hollar, which shows the houses which stood in front of the North Aisle.

(D) In 1683 Keepe described the North Front as "a ruinous building . . . a skeleton . . . shrivelled

* Some repairs at the Abbey were executed in 1600. See B.M. Add. 34195. Norden, *c.* 1600, says of the pinnacles of the buttresses that many, "through antiquity, have lost their form."

by the north wind and the fretting of the smoke of sea-coal." He goes on to describe "a most noble door, with a porch thereto, and on each side lesser porticoes, one of which only was an entrance." The porch had been called "Solomon's Porch." "Therein were placed the statues of the twelve Apostles at full proportion, besides a multitude of lesser saints and other devices." The Galilee porch must have been cleared away by this time; it is not shown on Sandford's plans of 1685. As a sum of money for repairs was set aside by Dean Dolben in 1662, and as repairs usually mean destruction, the Galilee probably disappeared then.

(E) A print by Collings, engraved in 1689, was probably made to correct Hollar's view in respect to these alterations. It shows that certain modifications had been made to the small gables above the original porches, and that the beautiful arcaded gallery beneath the great Rose had been replaced by a row of plain arches (later called by Wren "the little Doric passage"). Several of the sculptures, however, still remained. This print is, in the main, a poor copy of Hollar's, amended in respect of the new work, but some of the copied details are much corrupted.

(F) Some time before Wren's alterations were made to the North Transept, an engraving was made of the Front for Strype's edition of Stow. It shows the Transept in the same state as Collings' print; while evidently based on Hollar, the details have obviously been redrawn from the building, and it is a valuable supplement to Hollar's view.

(G) From 1697 till his death Wren was "chief

director" of the works of the church. In 1711 Parliament made a grant of £4000. Wren, in 1713, "considering his advanced age," drew up a statement of what had been done and his further proposals. Much of the east end and south side had by this time been recased. "A great part of the future expense" (he reports) "will be in the North Front and in the Great Rose Window there, which being very ruinous was patched up some years since, before I was concerned, and must now be new done. I have presented a proper design for it." *

The Rose had been stopped with plaster, he says, but should be rebuilt with Portland stone, to answer to the South Window, rebuilt forty years before,† the staircases at the corners should be new ashlared, and pyramids set on the pinnacles "conformable to the old style." He speaks of "the little Doric passage patched on before the Great Window" and of a design he had made more in agreement with the original, "without modern mixtures to show my own inventions."

(H) While the "restoration" of the upper part of the Transept, undertaken in 1884, was in full blast, a document of the highest authority was published.‡ This was a careful measured drawing

* In the Bodleian there are copies of the accounts from 1698 to 1713 with full details. (Gough Coll. 18,051.) The epitaph of Ed. Tufnell, buried in the south cloister, 1719, speaks of his having repaired the south and east parts. There was an Act of Parliament for the works.

† Say 1670, about the time, I suppose, that the outer porch was removed. (See Parentalia.)

‡ *Building News*, Oct. 26, 1888. The text refers to the restoration then in progress. "The work seems to be devoted to rebuilding

of the front as existing before 1713. It was probably made by Dickenson, the surveyor to the church, who acted under Wren's general advice. On a flap is shown the scheme for the alterations, which, when carried out, made the front into what some of us remember—a front which still retained a good deal of original work, and where the alterations often reflected in some degree what they replaced. The smile of the old work shone as it were through an ungraceful veil, and the whole front still preserved a certain lightness and spring. To trace the evidence, and to imagine the old features, was a problem of fascinating interest.

Wren's alterations to the part now under consideration (I shall call them Wren's, although they were probably designed in regard to detail by Dickenson) were undertaken about 1719, for the flap is signed by Wren, "I doe approve of this design, 1719." This drawing of the then existing front agrees with the prints above referred to (E. and F.), but, being an accurate elevation to scale, in supplementing and confirming them it gives them much greater value. The large Rose Window, and the panelling of the gable above it, are shown to have been of the most beautiful geometrical tracery. This drawing while perfectly explaining and harmonising the small rough representations by Hollar, and in Strype's Stow, shows that before 1719 the window and gable tracery were, without doubt, genuine original work.

the buttresses and recasing parts of the facade, and we hear that a new design has been prepared for replacing the Rose Window. The close hoarding, however, prevents a proper inspection."

Further, it appears that when the new design shown on the flap was prepared, it was not intended to alter the great Rose immediately ; the Rose, the filling of the gable, the windows in the

Fig. 29.—One of Four Tiles from Chapter House floor, representing a Rose Window

recesses of the first stage, and the doorways are shown as left without alteration, the flap placed over the survey of the then existing front being cut away to expose those portions of the under drawing. The portions to be renewed were the faces of the buttresses, the pinnacles, stair turrets, and the gallery beneath the Rose. Mr. Lee, the owner of this drawing, has several others which he has

allowed me to examine. Amongst them is a large detail for the Rose which was soon to replace the early one, to be itself destroyed in the 1884 campaign. A model of it is also preserved in the

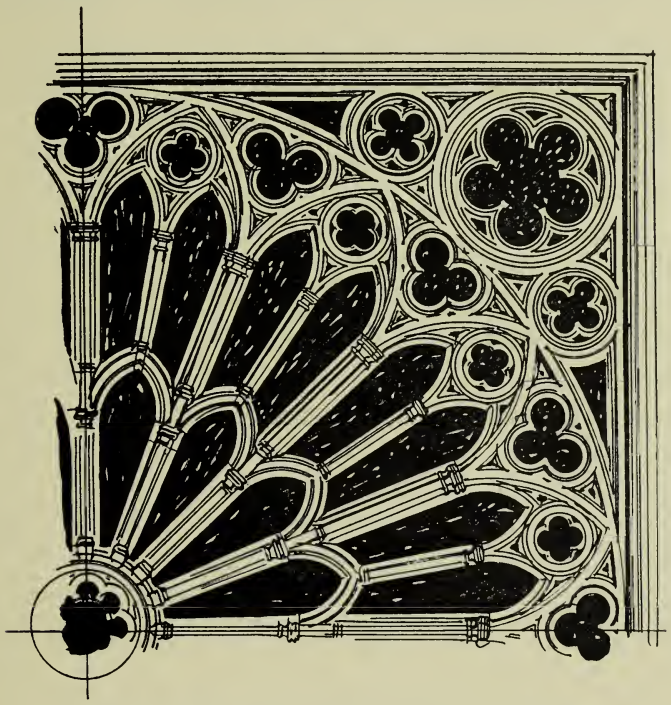

Fig. 30.—Ancient Rose Window of N. Transept.
From a Drawing by Wren

triforium of the Abbey. From a date which was in the glazing of the window itself, we know that it was completed in 1722.* The window of Wren's, while poor and thin compared with the

* Some interesting lead pipe-heads torn down from the North Transept at the recent restoration were also dated 1722, when, from this evidence, we may say Wren's work was completed.

earlier one shown on the survey, yet preserved the tradition of the old one in some important points ; the spandrels of the square in which it was placed were *pierced and glazed ;* the pattern on the whole indeed was largely a simplification of the old window. Wren may have discovered the basis of an old pinnacle on the apex of the gable, for he added such a one. (See A. above).

Thus disguised, but not destroyed, the old front was handed on to our day. On a copy of Middleton's large lithograph of 1801, in the Crowle Collection, some one (probably Carter) has noted what, early in the last century, appeared to be of ancient work ; the old work being correctly described as of Reigate stone, a safe criterion. This included the gable with its beautiful filling of tracery, the windows in the recesses of the first stage, and the jambs and arches of the doorways.

When the close screen which concealed the progress of the last " restoration " was removed it was found that all this had been swept away, together with Wren's work. All was new.

Rose Window.

Viollet-le-Duc* shows that in France the large circular windows went through the following steps in their development : They were at first circular and contained within round rear arches. In the middle of the thirteenth century at Reims " where they pushed the principles of the architecture of the Guilds *à l'outrance*," they pierced the spandrel between the Rose and the pointed vault behind and about it,

* Art. Rose.

so that it became a pointed window with rose tracery.

In the Ile de France the Roses of the thirteenth century were usually framed up in *squares*. That of the south transept of Notre Dame (begun 1257) had the lower spandrels pierced, but the upper ones were filled with blank tracery because the vault behind blocked them. "But about the same epoch they learnt to *isolate the wall ribs of the vaults* from the inside of the wall, thus leaving between the vaulting ribs and the Rose Window a space *so that the upper spandrels of the square might also be pierced*. . . . Such is the Rose of the Chapel of St. Germain en Laye."—built about 1240. *Such were the roses of Westminster Abbey wrought about* 1255. Will it be believed that in the late re-editing of the north window the traditional form in this respect as handed down by Wren was departed from? Notwithstanding the square inside and out, and the isolated wall rib of the vaulting contrived for the very purpose of making that square available, the spandrels have been filled in solid in this curious caprice of "restoration." Compare the South Rose where the proper tradition has been continued.

In respect to these pierced spandrels, and the resulting square form, the Rose at Westminster stood in the very van of Gothic development, and except at St. Germain it was difficult to match it at so early a time. The resemblance of the tracery of the old Rose at Westminster to a dozen French examples is most remarkable. It was a typical window of French form at the moment when it was built. The west Rose at Reims (*c.* 1250–60)

may be said to be *exactly like it* in pattern of the wheel, except for its having twelve rays instead of sixteen. The south Rose at Paris is like Reims, with additional foiling, and is framed in a square. The north Rose at Rouen (*c.* 1280) is so exactly like the Westminster window in its open spandrels, number of rays, foiling, and indeed in every respect, that it is difficult to suppose that it may be an independent development and not a copy of some original from which the Westminster window was also derived. The north transept Rose at Tours is also almost identical, and this may be earlier than Rouen.

At Paris and Rouen the pierced spandrels serve to unite the Roses to tiers of windows below them. The same intention may be seen in the South Transept at Westminster, and also at old St. Paul's (east end, begun in 1256), where a row of lights below a great Rose in an open square, going up behind the vault, went far towards that turning of the whole wall into window which seemed to be an aim of the Gothic schools* (Fig. 6). The instance of St. Paul's would put the key-stone to the evidence (if further evidence was necessary) that the original Rose window of Westminster is correctly represented on the drawing prepared for Wren. The design of the east Rose at St. Paul's, and the windows beneath it—as shown in Dugdale and imitated in a way at St. Catherine Cree—was without doubt a developed copy of the Westminster windows.

Scott had considered the question of the original

* The same thing had been earlier attempted in the north transept of Chartres.

form of the Rose windows, and came to the conclusion that both the old ones resembled to some extent that now in the South Transept, which he thought was a fifteenth-century version of the original form (Fig. 6). He endeavoured in a figure to " translate " the design back into an earlier style, and he pointed out that the result so obtained was *exactly* like the Rose windows represented on some early tiles in the Chapter House. His design, so arrived at, and these tiles agree in a most remarkable way with the window shown in the drawing made for Wren, of which Scott was ignorant, so again it is evident that the drawing must represent the thirteenth-century window, and that the south window does continue the form of the original windows as he supposed. Scores of these window tiles still exist, and I have verified Scott's representation of them as being entirely correct. They are 14 in. square (in four pieces), and might have been made from the original drawing for the actual window (Fig. 29). The building of the transept windows was probably reached about 1258, and in that year, as the accounts show, the tile floor of the Chapter House was being laid down. Again, although the representations of the Rose in Dugdale (Hollar) and Strype are small, it is quite clear that they represent the same form as Scott arrived at. My Fig. 30 is in the main based on Dickenson's drawing.

One other minute point in regard to the north Rose—Scott pointed out that the heads of the window lights generally were uncusped, but he could not forbear (notwithstanding the tile) to cusp the lights

of the Rose in his translation. The original, as shown on Dickenson's drawing, was *uncusped*, a sure mark of early date. Without Dickenson's drawing, Scott, by taking thought, had reached to a knowledge of the form of this window, and his critical conclusion should not have been set aside. Above all, Wren's new window should not have been destroyed.

The Gable.

The tracery filling the north gable, as shown by Dickenson, was preserved by repair until it was destroyed and something quite different put in its place, at Mr. Pearson's restoration. When I first saw the church with architectural eyes, this tracery interested me more than anything else, so that I made a careful drawing of it (Fig. 31). It was probably the most remarkable example of early tracery in England, but it fell accurately into the sequence at Westminster, its pattern being that of a bay of the north cloister slightly developed. This work of original form was swept away to substitute for it what appears to be a reading of Hollar's etching, which was only a short-hand note, thoroughly good for a gable an inch high, but not of course more accurate than the *actual work* from which it was sketched. In the old work the large foiled circles were pierced to form lights to the roof; in the "scientific restoration" they are blank and blind and foolish. The restorers seem never to have heard of criticism. They ought, one would think, to know old forms when they see them. They ought, if anxious for such daring feats as enlarging Hollar's etchings into stone, to ask

themselves where they will stop. If the *real* gable was to be made to agree with the tiny sketch made

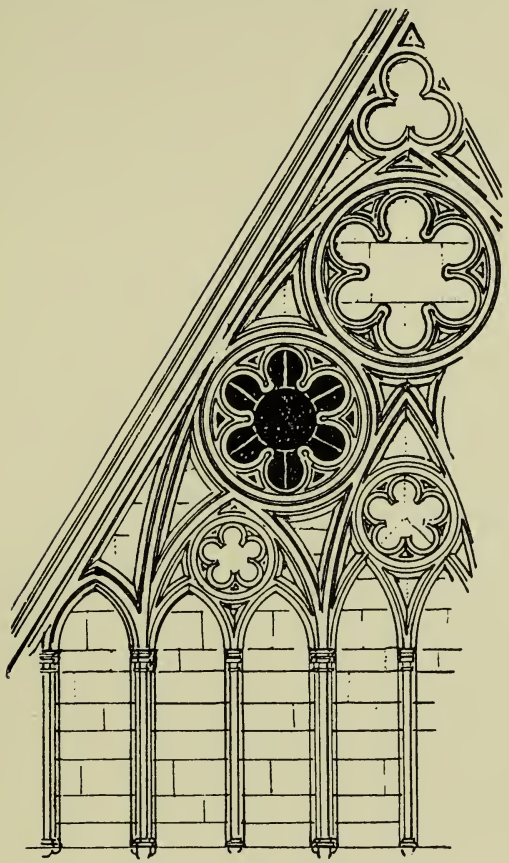

Fig. 31.—Gable of N. Transept. Ancient form, from a Drawing made before the last great restoration

from it, why not the clerestory and the triforium? Are all the remnants of buildings shown in "Monasticon" to be re-edited where the original

work is not thought to agree with little prints a few inches over ?

That this gable tracery lasted on to our time in its original form is put beyond doubt by comparing Dickenson's drawing with Strype and Dugdale. But without this evidence, how could they have thought that such beautiful forms of 1250–60 got up there? Were they of Wren's style? Why not have left them alone ?

Such is scientific restoration ; but let me not be misunderstood. Now it is done don't alter it ; I would not meddle with even the restorations of a restorer. The north gable as is stands has already more than a dozen years of antiquity (" Early English " they call it !). It is now the nearest we can have to the original work.

Dickenson's drawing shows parts of the two early pinnacles which flanked the gable, and the flying buttresses which contain within them stair-cases, which are also shown to have been original by the fact that the early entrances to them at the top of the spiral stairs still exist.

Middle Stage.

The gallery under the Rose has been restored, in respect to the number of bays, in accordance with Wren's work. I have nothing to say against this ; indeed *continuity* is what we should advocate in opposition to all " chopping and change." It must be pointed out, however, as we are trying to arrive at the early forms, that before Wren's time there were four bays in the centre and two in each of the flanks. This was the number of bays in the " little Doric

passage," and when we find that Hollar, the only first authority for the original arcade, shows this number of bays, we must decide that the evidence rules that there was this number of arches.* This evidence is confirmed in three ways, as follows :

The greater number of bays necessitates detail much smaller in scale than found elsewhere in the structure.

The flanking spaces are just half of the central space, and dividing them 2 : 4 : 2 was the natural course. At present the division is 3 : 5 : 3 which makes the flanks still more pinched as to scale than the centre.

At Amiens the prototype of this front, as will be shown, the similar arcade is divided 2 : 4 : 2.

This gallery is carried by four arches, composed as 1 : 2 : 1 filling the same spaces immediately below the gallery ; these arches are distorted in a bold and remarkable way so that their heads shall make correct *centres*, evidently with a view that these centres would come under strongly marked central lines of the arcades, and combine with them in one composition. (See Fig. 32.)

On the inside of the transept a similar system of bay composition is followed.

The alteration of the North Front is indeed very important ; it alters the entire *storey* arrangement of the front thus—

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* If independent evidence for this is required, see Dart's version of the Hollar print.

MIDDLE STAGE

Old.	*New.*
Gable	Gable
Rose	Rose
Gallery and Windows	Gallery Windows
Porches	Porches

That is, this middle stage of the front is now made up of two weak stages, instead of one strong one comprising two parts.

Wren, as if feeling that something was required if the two sub-divisions were not *combined*, pushed the gallery up some two feet from the top of the eccentric arches beneath. Vestiges of the caps and bases of the ancient arcade were found on the sides of the buttresses at the restoration; the present arcade, in respect to height and level, represents the old one, and the openings through the buttresses behind it are original. The passage above this arcade is also at the original level, and the openings through the buttresses pass under original Purbeck slabs which define the width of the buttresses. The diapering of the spandrels is entirely modern. The "eccentric arches" had been hacked back by Wren, and cased, but the springers were found and are said to be still in use. The soffits of these arches are also ancient, so the forms of the old work are here closely represented. The outer limbs of the lateral arches rested on sculptured heads (from Wren's time at least, and I suspect originally) not on single shafts as at present. The walling of the recesses is in great part old, but the heads of the windows in the lateral compartments have been altered as to design. When I first drew them,

about 1875, they had, as shown by Dickenson, trefoil-arches instead of arches with cusps. (Fig. 32.)

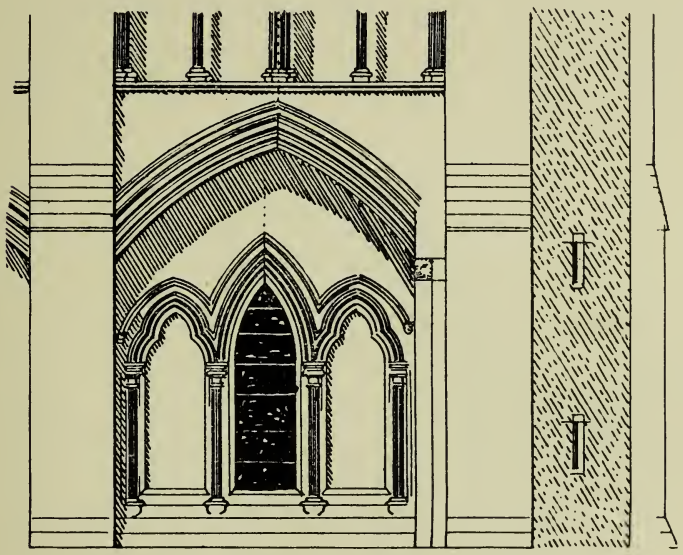

Fig. 32.—North Transept. Recess above right-hand porch, ancient form

Porches.

The tympanum of the Great Door was removed at the same time as the Rose (*c.* 1722). The filling shown in Dickenson's survey agrees with Collings' engraving, 1689, and was certainly the original thirteenth-century work. (Fig. 33.) I judge this by the design, and Wren would not have had occasion to alter more recent work. His (or Dickenson's) design for what took its place exists in Mr. Lee's Collection. The old tympanum was sub-divided into tracery which, doubtless, held sculptures possibly of the Life of

Christ, as at Higham Ferrars, but more probably of the Last Judgment.* The sheltered parts of the side porches were little altered by Wren ; indeed, they came down to us until yesterday, tolerably intact.

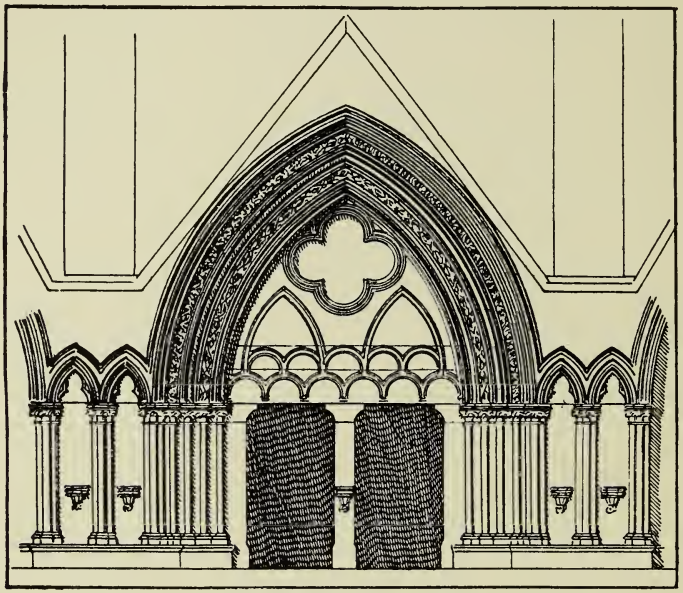

Fig. 33.—North Transept. Diagram of form of Ancient Porch

Carter (in *Gentleman's Magazine*) pointed out that though the front had been "reformed" by those who had "the presumption to improve the work of our ancient artists," yet the eastern of the three porches remained in its original state.

Scott, twenty years before his reformatory works were begun, said that the doorways retained a number of mouldings "in the original stone," which

* See Appendix, p. 361, and below, p. 85.

contained remnants of carved foliage, "like the doorway to the Chapter House . . . the tympana of the smaller openings [side porches] still retain their original stone, which are decorated with circular panels." *

Scott here guarantees the work for which he afterwards substituted a copy. Judging from an old photograph, I should say that the "copy" is generally "correct" in the eastern porch and the sides of the western. Mr. Lee has a drawing which shows the circles filling up the side arches (*c.* 1715–20.) A little plain ancient walling still remains in these porches. Some of the statue corbels were replaced by Scott: signs of filling by Wren show that they had originally existed, and were cut out by him. In the eastern or blind porch, about a quarter of one is preserved. The vaulting of these side porches is "correct," and the boss of the western opening is original and beautiful. A thirteenth-century scroll of foliage of finest style, "completely undercut with lions and birds at intervals to give variety," which belonged to Cottingham, and was described as from "the Door of N. Aisle of Nave," may have belonged to these porches. Compare the lions of the capital on the left of Chapter House door. The new tympanum of the central porch speaks for itself, the angels in medallions up the soffits are copied from the interior, although from Wren's time at least, there was a row of circles here, which suggested the "treatment." The authority for the gables was Hollar's etching; a few stones as evi-

* "Gleanings."

dence for the deep slopes at the back were found at the re-building. Neale pointed out that the arches over the porches were struck from centres above the springing line, and contracted before they reached the caps—were, in fact, slightly "horseshoe," as we say.

The niches on the face of the buttresses between the porches had trefoil heads, and were without canopies beneath them (such as Scott added) and Dickenson's survey shows that this was the original form. Wren's principal work was on the fronts of the buttresses and the pinnacles above. Hollar, who represents the buttresses of the choir correctly, with niches *above* and plain slopes beneath, shows similar niches to the transept front at the *first stage*, the buttresses above that having plain slopes. The plain slopes were shown by Dickenson, but the niches of the first stage had disappeared. The buttress slopes of Hollar's view agree also so completely with those of the South Transept, which have undergone little alteration, that his accuracy is entirely confirmed.

Dickenson's drawing shows that the mid-post of the central door had a statue corbel similar to those in the ground-storey niches, which the early engravings show carried statues. The engravings show four other statues, occupying the niches in the buttress faces above the porches. There are also two niches of the largest size in the jambs of the central door, which must have contained large statues like the lateral niches. Keepe says of "Solomon's Porch" that it was adorned with "the statues of the Twelve Apostles at full proportion."

Hatton in 1708 says "there remain six below and four above." Crull (1711) says: "this portico still retained below two of these admirable statues, besides three others quite defaced, also two above each of the side porches." Hollar shows these last four standing in the blanks by the windows in the side recesses. All these statues disappeared in the repairs of 1719–22. Dart (1733) says: "this stately portico is now lately beautified, and the time-eaten sculpture and masonry pared away." The statue on the mid-post of the doorway would have been Christ blessing. The Apostles on either hand call for this, and reference to Amiens confirms this view. In the Quatrefoil of the tympanum would have been the Majesty. At Amiens scenes from the Last Judgment accompany such a figure, and this also was probably followed at Westminster. At Amiens, again, there is a figure below the Christ of the door-post which used to be called David, but is now thought to be Solomon. Did such a figure at Westminster give rise to the name Solomon's Porch?

South Transept.

According to Wren, the Rose of the South Transept was renewed about 1670. The form of the one then inserted was so incontestably of the type of *c.* 1400 that the one it replaced was probably of that date. Carter who watched the renewal of the renewed (and said it was unnecessary) in 1814, reports that the one then put in was copied from it with fidelity.* This window of 1814 (Fig. 6) has itself now been

* See his engraving of the older one.

destroyed. New glass was put in as a memorial about 1900, and it was thought well to make all new "while they were about it." The same opportunity was taken to carve some new coats-of-arms over the window outside—nothing was here before.

I write with a photograph of the S. Transept, made about 1865, before me; it shows all the four pinnacles capped by the low sixteenth-century leaded roofs shown in Speed's engraving of 1610. These interesting and—supposing that the original pinnacles had fallen—most reasonable coverings were torn off, and "correct" ecclesiasticisms stuck up in their places about 1870. The gable itself was bare in 1865. The existing buttress slopes agree with those shown in Dickenson's survey of the North Front—a confirmation for both. This South Front has suffered, but, below the Rose, it has never been "done up fine" like the North Front, and remains therefore much as it was when Wren left it, and substantially the old thing in its lines. The gable-filling was, I believe, originally similar to that of the north gable, but there is very little evidence to go upon. The etching of this front in Dugdale, by King, seems to be compiled from Hollar's North View. The best authority is a smaller view by Hollar, which shows the gable-filling just as he shows the north gable also in a small view.

The largest extant portion of the thirteenth-century exterior work is three or four yards square about the eastern door entering the South Transept. The doorway itself has been much injured, but by comparing it with the corresponding door of the

North Transept (which had been blocked up till 1896, and is now opened out, although the filling was probably mediæval and done *c.* 1400 when the chapel was formed) the original form of both can be fairly made out on paper. The outer moulded order exists at the south door, and fragments of the inner carved one at the north. The pattern of one set of caps at the south door can just be traced, and here the two marble shafts of each jamb are in position, but a third had been added, taking the place of the roll moulding of the jamb of the north door. In the latter two beautiful carved caps of French fashion have been left untouched.

The Chevet.

The east end has been so defaced by time and blinded by violent handling that it is difficult to imagine what must have been its first graceful beauty. Some work to this portion was begun by Dean Williams 1620–1650, and when Hollar's View was made all the parapets of the chapels and pinnacles of the buttresses had been thrown down. These eastern buttresses must have been originally furnished above with niches and statues like the eastern bays of the nave. In Hatton's "New View," (1708), after describing the nave buttresses and their statues, it is said that "there were also several figures on the buttresses of the east side of the church which in reparation thereof are rebuilt plain." Wren began his work of cutting down and recasing at the east window about 1697. The jamb-shafts, and arch-mouldings of the windows have also been obliterated in the general

coarse recasing of this part, so that only the general disposition of forms remains.

The Choir and Nave.

About 1628, the great buttresses of the west bays of nave, north side, "which were almost crumbled to dust" were "re-edified with durable materials" by Dean Williams "and beautified with elegant statues." * These bays have again been repaired, but some of the original Reigate stone has been suffered to remain in the wall spaces. Carter in 1808 described the state of the thirteenth-century bays just west of the crossing, and engraved the third bay. The battlements, cornices, pinnacles, niches, and the mouldings and shafts of the windows had been "havocked," he says, by Wren; but the triforium stage remained unaltered and Carter engraved a detail of this—a valuable record. An engraving of 1818 in "Neale," gives even a more accurate general view of these bays. Blore began the complete recasing of these bays, which are now a sort of full-size model of what the original work must have been (except niches and pinnacles, which have lost all elegance), but every positive link with the past is swept away.† The statues in the niches, outside the choir, had been removed before Dart wrote: their broken fragments were then "laid in the roof above Henry VII.'s chapel." They were ultimately buried, I believe, in the north green somewhere. Hatton says they were of "princes."

* See Stanley.

† Blore was at work on the W. side of N. Transept in 1835. Scott was appointed in 1845.

An invaluable document for the form of the bays of Henry III.'s choir is the large model, now in the triforium, prepared to show Wren's (or Dickenson's) central tower. One bay of this accurately shows the details before alterations, including the shafts to the windows and the niches on the north buttresses (for which compare Neale and Carter). This model also shows two blank lancets which filled out the space between the clerestory windows and the fliers of the buttresses; these have disappeared entirely, but vestiges of similar lancets have been found on the south side in the recent restoration. The evidence of Wren's model, in this respect, had not I believe been noticed. Before the early recasings of the eastern limb similar blank arches may have existed there also. Altogether a complete paper-restoration can be compiled for the bays of the choir.

Much of the south side remained, until its "thorough restoration" in 1882–92, as it had been left by Wren's heavy hand. The clerestory walling was almost entirely the original Reigate stone of the fair greeny-grey colour, now only to be seen here and there in a few patches. On the bench of the north walk of cloister in 1899 rested a fragment of a thirteenth-century Purbeck capital from a window mullion. If it came, as I believe, from the south clerestory, it is enough, with the evidence it gives of the fixing of the shaft beneath it, to show that the window columns were marble, as, I believe, was every shaft of the early work.

WEST FRONT—THE LANTERN

West Front.

At the Dissolution, the West Front was far from complete. Hollar accurately shows its state, and Wren reports how the gable in his time was still only of weather boarding. The porch is the only original work left. The west window, Wren says, was in a feeble state, and the work about it was renewed, being completed *c.* 1735. The heightening of the towers was not Wren's work. About a dozen years after his death, Ralph writes (1736): "There is a rumour that the Dean and Chapter still design to raise the towers." The *Grub Street Journal*, 1735, had said that Hawksmoor was to do this, but he died in 1736. The work seems to have been done about 1740–2, Papworth supposes by John James, who succeeded Dickenson in 1725 and died 1746. Considerable repairs to the West Front were done about 1898–1902.

The Lantern.

We shall see that the tower over the choir is mentioned in 1274, and, again, in the will of Henry VII. it is called the Lantern. It is probable that it was never completed. When Wren reported on the state of the church he pointed out that the piers of the crossing were bent by the thrust of the arcades, and argued that the carrying up of a central tower would, by weighting these piers, increase their stability. He proposed a scheme for a tall steeple, and some work in preparation for it was probably undertaken. A ceiling over the crossing was destroyed by fire in 1803, but, together with the stone-work which appears outside, it was replaced directly after.

Carter, who saw the fire, reports that the repairs to the crossing were nearly complete in 1804. "The groins were something like Wren's, destroyed by the fire." * Even before Wren's time the ceiling here was of a temporary kind. In recommending the erection of a central tower Wren wrote: "It was plainly intended originally to have had a steeple, the beginnings of which appear on the corners of the Cross, but left off before they rose so high as the ridge of the roof, and the vault of the choir under it is but lath and plaster and now rotten." Wren's description of the beginning of piers agrees exactly with what is shown in the smaller views by Hollar, where we see gusset pieces in the valleys roofed over in a temporary way. A low octagonal lantern, probably of wood covered with lead, is shown complete on the view of the church (a mere symbol rather than a representation), given on the "Islip Roll"; and Keepe tells us that Islip designed "a stately tower and lantern" for a goodly chime of bells, but found the pillars too weak. It is probable that the vault here was never completed in stone, for if it had been some evidence would have survived.

Care and Repair.

How different it would have been with the Abbey church if, instead of all the learned and ignorant experiments to which it has been subjected, this ever fresh energy in pulling down and setting up, there had been steadily carried on during the last century a system of careful patching, staying, and repair!

* *Gent. Mag.*, 1803–4.

Even yet, if we could arrest attempts at improvement—as if the church were not good enough for us—of which the results are creeping over the whole building in a sort of deadly disease, and substitute mere daily carefulness, much of the authentic past might be handed on for other ages.

Already in 1683 Keepe noticed that the corrosion of the walls of the church was the result of "the smokes of sea-coal." * Since that time surface decay has gone on with ever increasing rapidity. Some of Scott's work, like the well-built and costly parapet, is already quickly perishing, and parts of the surface of the still newer transept are blistering and powdering. Extravagant works of this sort cannot be repeated every fifty years, and we must face the fact that only one reasonable thing can be done, and that is to wash the whole with lime. If mediæval authority is wanted there is plenty of precedent for such "blanching." In 1342, for instance, "slaked lime for whitening the walls of the church" appears in the accounts, and in those of 1253 one Ade, *dealbator*, is seen engaged week after week. Probably this was for the interior, but orders for Windsor and the Tower say distinctly that certain important works are to be whitewashed "inside and out." On the question of beauty I do not doubt that a thin skin of lime, the obtrusiveness of which would soon mellow in tone, would give a satisfying sense of wholeness and fairness which would immensely amend the disagreeable surface and the sophisticated look of the present smoke-attacked stone. If it were only

* "Carbone Marino" is mentioned in the Fabric Roll of 1253.

made clean once more we might almost hope to see again the pennywort which Gerarde found growing over the entrance to the Poets' Corner.*

These great national buildings, the Parthenon, St. Mark's, Reims, and Westminster, are much more than works of art—they embody the souls of ancient peoples, who, whether better and wiser or not, were assuredly different from ourselves.

* See the vaults of the passage-ways opening on the east of Dean's Yard, whitewashed some six years ago. They were in a terrible state ; now they are wholesome, yet the stone joints all show, and the ordinary visitor would not know of the lime-whiting. The decay of the door to the vestibule of the Chapter House must be arrested.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE FOUNDATION TO HENRY III

The Foundation of the Abbey : The Confessor's Church : Norman Buildings : The Lady Chapel.

E l'Eglice de Westminster
Ki n'a en reaume per.
" French Life of the Confessor," *c.* 1270.

The Foundation of the Abbey.

The origin of Westminster Abbey has been obscured by such a mist of legend, backed by false charters, that recent writers have for the most part waived discussion of the subject. It is time that all the documents concerning the early history of our Abbey should be subjected to a strict critical examination by an expert.* Failing this I can only set down here in a tentative way the results I have arrived at on such evidence as is already made sure.

It is certain that there were buildings here before the Confessor began his work, and that there was a community at Westminster in the latter part of the tenth century. The Chroniclers of the Abbey,

* Even the charters of the Confessor are said to be "fabrications" (Sir J. H. Ramsay, "Foundations of Eng.," p. 506); and the famous charter of the Conqueror seems to contain legendary matter. Sir F. Madden said that the monks of Westminster were addicted to the fabrication of charters, and they had the Confessor's seal in their possession. It is extremely doubtful if any of the great charters of the Abbey earlier than Henry I. are genuine. (*Archæol. Jour.*, vol. xix.) Bishop Stubbs seems to have held a similar view (Lectures).

however, push its origin back to the time of Mellitus, the first Bishop of London. But, even according to them, there was an interregnum in the earlier part of the tenth century until it was refounded by Dunstan,* who, under his own headship, intrusted it to the care of the monk Wulsin, who afterwards became Abbot. Wulsin still later was made Bishop of Sherborne, and was canonised after his death.† He was succeeded at Westminster by Aldsey, Wulnoth, and Edwyn—the last of whom was Abbot while the Confessor's church was in progress, and during the first years of the Conqueror's reign.

External evidence begins only with the abbacy of Wulsin, although the earlier legends were fortified at last by a complete list of Abbots reaching back to the seventh century.‡ W. of Malmesbury and R. de Diceto mention the re-foundation of the Abbey by Dunstan, but the great reputation of Dunstan as the restorer of monastic life might well lead to the almost spontaneous generation of the story. It is difficult to fit the dates satisfactorily, and the way he is brought in as a sort of over-lord to Wulsin before the latter became full Abbot is suggestive, and my own conclusion is that the Abbey was first founded about 970, and that Wulsin was its first Abbot.

One piece of evidence as to the non-existence of the Abbey at an early time which has not been

* Some accounts say while he was Bishop of London, others say 962, and 969.

† St. Wulsin, Bishop and Confessor. Jan. 8.

‡ See list in Sporley's M.S. and Scott's "Gleanings."

used in this connection, is that in Ethelweard's "Chronicle" we find that the Danes in 893, crossing the Thames on their way northwards from Farnham, were besieged in the Isle of Thorney, the name which we find in old charters and chronicles given to the insulated site of the Abbey. If there had been a monastic community there at this time it could hardly have escaped notice ; we get, however, an interesting confirmation as to the early name of the site.

Extravagant claims are frequently made for the antiquity of Westminster, and unsubstantial pretensions (as I think) are advanced as to its independence of London. The charters, ancient even if forged, speak of it as West Monasterium outside London ; St. Peter's outside the walls of London ; in the western part of London, &c. ; and Fleete, writing in 1443, calls its site *suburbana Thorneia*. The Life of the Confessor, *c.* 1070, speaks of the Abbey as "St. Peter's without the walls of London . . . near the famous and opulent city." *

The very name, the West Minster, relates the Abbey to St. Paul's Minster and the City, and there seems to me considerable probability that its lands, conterminous as they were with those of London, were carved out of the original suburban lands of the City. The boundaries of Westminster are defined in a Saxon document embodied in a doubtful Latin charter, dated 951, a date all allow to be impossible. Mr. Stevenson, however, the

* In the "French Life," *c.* 1270, we are told that the Confessor was *at London* in his palace and went to St. Peter's, which was near by. Westminster is frequently spoken of as "at London."

great charter authority, thinks that the date 971 might be substituted, and that the charter might be accepted.* If this were indeed so, it would give us, I consider, the first valid mention of the Abbey, and would, in fact, be its original provision of lands. In any case, the Saxon account of boundaries is of the greatest interest.

As to Wulsin, or more properly Wulfsige, the Abbot who became Bishop of Sherborne, there is no doubt whatever. According to Bishop Stubbs's register he ruled that See from 992 to 1001, and William of Malmesbury calls him ex-Abbot of Westminster.† We may suppose that he was Abbot of Westminster from about 970 to 992.

For the next Abbot there is also independent evidence in a charter of 997 attested by "Elfwic, Abbot of Westminster."‡ We may date his rule from 992 to 1017.

Of Wulfnoth, who then succeeded, we have the record of his death, while Abbot of Westminster, entered in the Saxon Chronicle under 1049. During his time we first hear of a connection between the Abbey and the Royal House, for in 1040 Harold Harefoot was buried within its precincts.§

* "The Crawford Charters."

† See his "Life of Dunstan" in Rolls Series (Stubbs). W. of Malmesbury does not here mention Dunstan in connection with Westminster, but in his collected "Lives of the Bishops" the story occurs with the legend of the first foundation by Mellitus. All this must have come from a Westminster source. According to Eadmer the chasuble of Dunstan was preserved at Westminster.

‡ Kemble's Cod. Dip. 698. A valid charter not of Westminster.

§ Sax. Chron.

Edwyn, who succeeded Wulfnoth, died about 1071.

As to the first buildings, the writer who describes the Confessor's work almost directly after his death, only tells us that those it superseded were old and poor. There is in Westminster still one relic of the Saxon age in the lid fitted to a Roman sarcophagus which was found in 1869 under the north green. It has a cross roughly carved on it and now stands in the entry to the Chapter House.

The Confessor's Church.

There are two early accounts of the Confessor's Church, one written not later than 1074, and the other about the middle of the thirteenth century.* Certain fragments of the foundations were found by Scott in 1866, as he mentions in his "Recollections," and all the evidence has been ably co-ordinated by Mr. Micklethwaite in a paper in the *Archæological Journal*.† The view in the Bayeux Tapestry can hardly be taken as an authority except as showing the palace in close proximity to the church.

It was a large cross-church with a central tower over the choir of the singers and an apse to the east. The aisles were vaulted and the roofs covered with lead. The Confessor's work was to the east of the older Saxon church, which remained, in fact, as its nave. The remnants of three bases of the arcade which separated the presbytery from its aisle still exist under the mosaic floor. The posi-

* Dr. Luard, in Rolls Series. † March 1894.

tion of the cloister shows that the crossing must have been where it is now.

The statement that the tower was above the choir of the singers is evidence that the work was carried on for one or two bays westward of the crossing : "The centre line of the old church was

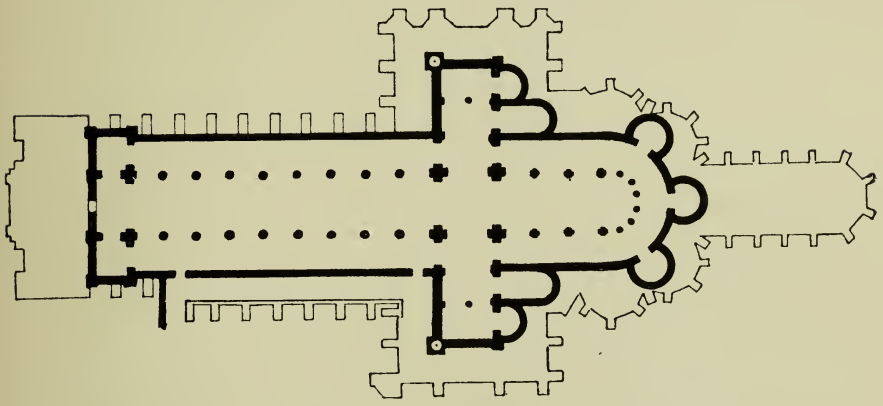

Fig. 34.—Conjectural plan of the Confessor's Church

the same as that of the present one, and the total width west of the crossing is unchanged, but east of the crossing the main space has been narrower." Mr. Micklethwaite further points out that what we know of the old Lady Chapel, built in 1220 in extension of the Confessor's church, goes to prove that the early apse stood where the present one does.

All are agreed that the Confessor built the church after the manner of the architecture of France. William of Malmesbury says it was of a "new kind"* and "the first in England erected

* "Lives of the Bishops."

in the fashion which now all follow at great expense."*

If we seek for a direct prototype it is probable we should look to Jumièges, a famous church founded in 1040 by Robert, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, and who, W. of Malmesbury says, was there buried in the church which he chiefly had built at vast expense.†

A comparison with Jumièges raises again a point well discussed by Mr. Micklethwaite. Were the aisles of the Confessor's church of two storeys as was inferred by Wren from the Latin description, or was the phrase in question mere vague rhetoric? On all the evidence we must, I believe, decide that Wren's reading was the right one:—(1) Jumièges, we are told, "presents us, perhaps, with the earliest example of the true triforium, a complete second storey, capacious as the aisle below and vaulted in a similar manner." (2) The Latin description of Westminster agrees with itself, for it says that both "above and below were chapels with altars dedicated to the memory of apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins." (3) Such a form best accounts for the remarkable triforium of the present church with its chapels in two storeys, a thing unique in mid-thirteenth-century architecture, but general in France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Conqueror's own church, S. Stephen's, Caen, follows this type.‡ In England the idea that

* Chronicles. One might suppose that in writing this he had the nearest cathedral—Gloucester—in mind.

† It was consecrated in 1067 at which time the nave was probably completed. ‡ So also the chapel in the Tower of London.

the triforium storey was of great importance and to be marked by exterior windows is common in early Norman works as at Durham, Ely, Peterborough, Winchester, old St. Paul's, Waltham Abbey, &c. When Henry III. rebuilt the church he retained this characteristic, which otherwise cannot be accounted for.

It is also more probable than not that there were chapels opening from the ambulatory as well as from the transepts. This was usual in French churches earlier than the Confessor's, and in English churches built directly after the Conquest. It would, I think, be impossible to point to a Norman church having an ambulatory which had not also radiating chapels. There must have also been suitable access to the upper chapels.* On these grounds I venture to revise the plan which has been suggested for the older church to this extent (Fig. 34). I have also shortened the nave by two bays. Had the Norman towers been in the position of the present towers I cannot think that they would have been destroyed in the fifteenth century, or torn down to the height of those west towers shown on Hollar's print of the west front. It must be admitted that the plan has few fixed points. The Confessor's building, in any case, was a noble one amongst Norman churches. As late as 1161, when Abbot Lawrence wrote to the Pope to obtain Edward's canonisation,

* At St. Ouen there is an early transeptal chapel in two stages, 1046–1126, and it was usual in Norman churches to have galleries across the ends of the transepts communicating with such chapels. It was so at Jumièges. The radiating chapels derive ultimately from St. Martin's, Tours.

he described it as a noble building which the King had richly endowed and *beatissime consummavit.**

The Confessor probably began his new choir about 1055, and it was consecrated only a few days before his death, when he was too ill to attend. In the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1065, we read: "In this year was hallowed the Minster at Westminster, on Childermas Day (December 28). And King Edward died on the eve of Twelfth Mass and was buried on the Twelfth Mass Day within the newly hallowed church." His grave was before the altar of St. Peter, and a few years later Edith, his queen, was laid by his side. They, says Gaimar, at "Westmonster furent posez en dous sarcuz mult bien overez." In a charter which purports to be one given to the Abbey in 1067 by the Conqueror, which may embody a true tradition, however untrustworthy in itself, we have a very curious reference to the Confessor's "architect." It is a confirmation to the Abbey of certain possessions, amongst which are mentioned the land and houses which Godwin, surnamed Great Syd, the Master *Cementarius* † gave with the reservation that his son Ælfwin should enjoy them for life.

Norman Buildings.

We do not know if any of the domestic buildings of the Abbey were erected by the Confessor, although the dormitory and its substructure are frequently said to be part of his work. The actual remains, however, of this part, and of the Refectory show that

* Robertson. Materials: Hist. Becket.

† In the translation in the 29th Report of the Record Office this

the buildings about the cloister were of post-Conquest work. Of the eastern range a characteristic feature is found in the alternate use of stones of two colours, as may be seen about a door in the Dormitory, and a piece of wall in the angle of the Little Cloister. (Figs. 35*a* and 35*b*.) This latter portion, with its

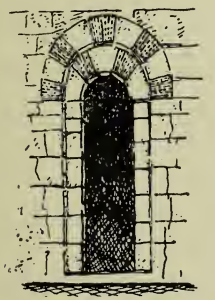

Fig. 35*a*.—Ancient Door in Dormitory, now Westminster School

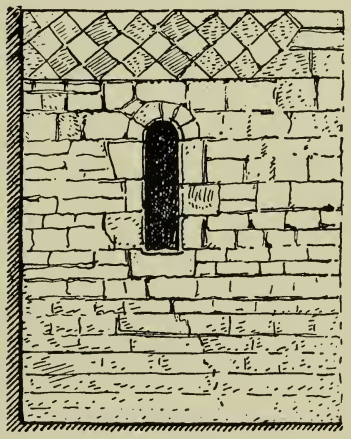

Fig. 35*b*.—Ancient Masonry (*c*. 1100) in Little Cloister

diagonally placed square stones, is exactly like some ancient walling once on Westminster Hall, and, like that, I should date it about 1090–1100. Some of the arches of the under-croft have remnants of painted decoration. (Fig. 36.) Several caps of the old Cloister have been found, some of which are preserved in the entry to the Chapter House. Another, which doubtless belonged to the

word is given as Plasterer, but in the duplicate entry in the B.M. charters he appears as "Godwin, called Great Syd, *Cementarius* of that church."

cloister, although it was found some distance away,* had an inscription on which the word *Claustrum* and the names of Abbot Gilbert (1082 to 1121) and William II. appeared.†

The dormitory and cloister may thus be dated *c.* 1090-1100. Leland has a note taken from a Chronicle of Malmesbury Abbey, "Anno D. 1110, inchoatum est novum opus Westmonasterie." He adds that the King himself laid the first stone. This probably refers to the nave, and we may suppose that the refectory was by this time completed. Of the nave of the church several fragments have been found which belonged to a work of the middle of the twelfth century. "It was of the same width as the present nave, a good deal of which is, in fact, built on the old foundation." At the west end were bell-towers. The nave was completed about 1160.

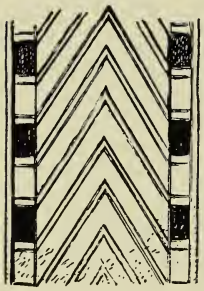

Fig. 36. — Norman painting in undercroft of Dormitory

The considerable remains, not often seen, of St. Katherine's, the chapel of the infirmary, to the east of the little cloister, are of delicate late Norman work, almost transitional in character, which I should date about 1165-70. It was explored in 1871 on the removal of some buildings, and

* In the walls of the gate-tower of the palace, destroyed in 1807. It was sold to Sir Gregory Page Turner, and should if possible be re-discovered. It is illustrated in Brayley and Britton's "Palace of Westminster."

† Scott, in his "Recollections," speaks of the discovery of a "compartment and numerous capitals of the Norman cloister."

consists of three aisles, five bays long with columns alternately round and octagonal, with elegantly scalloped capitals and notched arches. The windows have angle shafts, and arches beaded to the inside. Eastward is a chancel with a part of its altar still in place, and there were two other altars at the ends of the aisles. The nave and aisles of this chapel were almost certainly continued westward over part of the present Little Cloister, and included the infirmary hall.* The wall which now terminates the chapel to the west was built about 1340. (Figs. 37 and 38.)

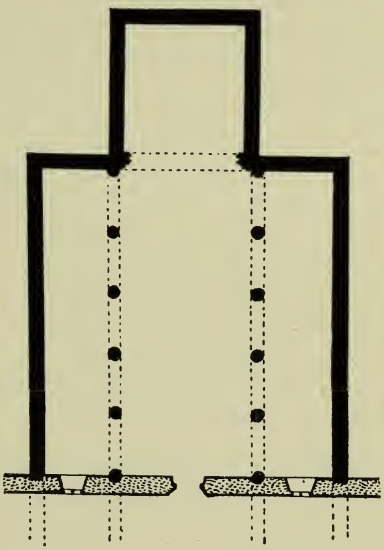

Fig. 37.—Plan of St. Katherine's Chapel

According to Ackerman, Henry II. was a particular benefactor to Westminster, and the "New Works" there. He says, citing "an MS. in the Cottonian Library," that the king, at the request of Abbot Lawrence, repaired the offices, which had for the most part been consumed by fire. The only exact record I find is in the Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II., and is of the payment of 40 shillings to Alnoth *pro operiendo refectorio*. This is at least interesting, as giving us the name of the King's most famous master of the works at the Tower,

* An infirmary cloister is mentioned in the thirteenth century.

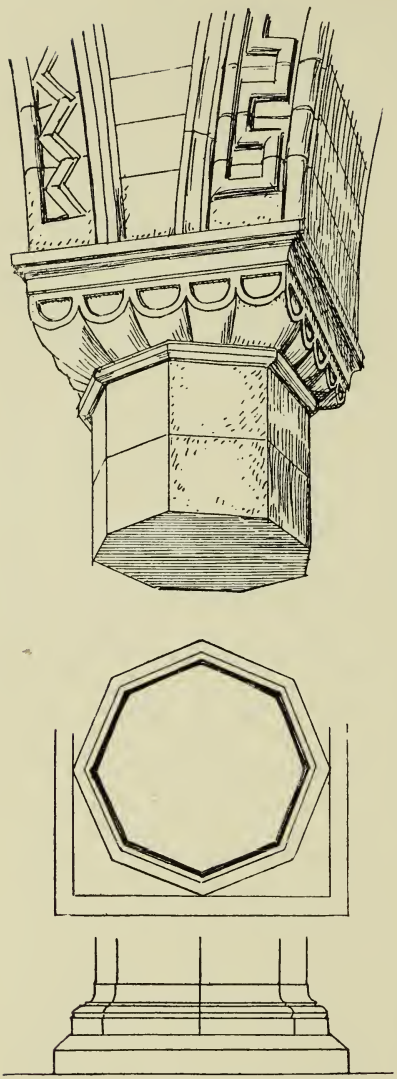

Fig. 38.—Detail of Arcade of St. Katherine's Chapel

the Palace, and Windsor. He is elsewhere called *Ingeniator*.*

Neale says that in the time of Abbot Lawrence stalls are mentioned as being made for the "New Work." This, Scott supposed, applied to the chapel of St. Katherine, but it seems more probable that it was part of a re-arrangement of the church consequent upon the completion of the nave and the translation of the Confessor's body in 1163, when, we are told, it was taken out of the earth by Thomas of Canterbury and enshrined.

We may say that the church was finished by 1163, and that the infirmary was built about the same time. That the chapel of St. Katherine was the work of Abbot Lawrence seems to be

* He was working at the Palace from 9 to 24 Hen. II., and St. Katherine's may have been erected under his direction.

shown by the fact that his anniversary was celebrated there, and one of the altars of the chapel was dedicated in honour of St. Lawrence.* St. Katherine's was destroyed in the year 1571.†

The nave altars of the church were dedicated from the first, as later, in honour of Holy Cross (centre), the Trinity (south), and the Blessed Virgin (north). In the Golden Legend we are told of the Confessor how he was praying at the altar of the Trinity when he saw a vision ; and the Virgin's altar in the nave came to be called "Old St. Mary's," that is *older* than the chapel of 1220. Holy Cross was a usual early dedication for the altar below the Nave Rood. We also hear of a chapel of St. Nicholas, near which Egelvic, Bishop of Durham, was buried in 1072.‡

The Lady Chapel.

Matthew Paris tells us that on Saturday, the vigil of Pentecost, in the year 1220, was begun the New Work of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, of which the king (Henry III.), laid the first stone. This chapel was built at the cost of the Abbey, and indulgences were issued to subscribers. An order of the king's exists for the delivery to the Prior of the golden spurs made for "our coronation, which we have

* See Customs, Bradshaw Society.

† Widmore, p. 142.

‡ Stanley. As early as the IXth. century the plan of St. Gall shows the Holy Cross altar in the middle of the nave. I have found Holy Trinity altar mentioned before the rebuilding of the church as the place where the Confessor saw in a vision the King of the Danes drowned. (Cal. Charter Rolls, anno 1246.)

given for the New Work of the chapel of St. Mary."*

The work went forward very slowly, for in 1233–4 a grant was made to the Abbot (Berkinge) of twenty oaks for the work in the church and as many for "the New Work of his chapel of St. Mary."† These oaks would have been required for the roof, and below we shall find that the chapel was not at first vaulted, but had a timber roof. In 1243–4 the Keeper of the Mint was ordered to have two altars of St. Adrian and St. Michael made for the new chapel of St. Mary. In 1246 Abbot Berkinge died and was buried before the High Altar of the chapel which he had built.

In 1875 some foundations were discovered by Mr. Wright, which seemed to show that the Lady Chapel was a long, apsidal-ended building which occupied the space now covered by the central area of Henry VII.'s new Lady Chapel. Neale tells us that when Henry VII.'s chapel was recased many wrought members of the old chapel were found. One capital of a mullion and some fragments of dog-tooth moulding, now in the vestibule to the Chapter House, may have belonged to the Lady Chapel. In Abbot Ware's "Customs" mention is made of twenty tapers on the beam before the altar, of others "in the hands of the angels,"‡ and of two at the feet of Abbot Berkinge. Peter of Spain, the painter, some time before 1272, made two

* L. G. Wickham Legg, "Coron. Records," p. 56.

† Close Roll.

‡ On the pillars which would have supported the altar curtains.

pictures for the altar of St. Mary, for which the large sum of £80 was paid.*

Already, before the rebuilding, the Confessor's feasts were splendidly celebrated. In 1242 Henry III. granted £20 (say £400) a year for keeping up four wax candles about the feretrum, in addition to the old lights, and for providing at Christmas and on the two feasts of St. Edward 300 wax candles at each.†

* "Gleanings," p. 113.

† Cal. Charter Rolls.

CHAPTER V

HENRY III., HIS ARTISTS AND THE DESIGN

Henry III. and his Artists: Sources of the Design: Reims: The Ste. Chapelle: Amiens.

> "... *Henry the Third, whilom of England King,*
> *Who this church brake, and after his meed*
> *Again renewed into this fair building*
> *Now resteth here which did so great a thing.*"
>
> FABYAN'S Translation of Ancient Epitaph.

Henry III. and his Artists.

HENRY THE THIRD'S master passion was for building and for collecting works of art—images, pictures, jewels, relics, plate, and stuffs. London was practically transformed in his reign from the central spire of St. Paul's to the gates of the City and the Tower. Great works were carried on at most of the royal castles and manors—Westminster, Winchester, Windsor, Kennington, Clarendon, Gloucester, Guildford, Woodstock, Dublin, and the rest. The Confessor was Henry's special patron, and the king seems hardly to have gone on a journey, or to have undertaken any serious matter, without offering some gifts at the Westminster shrine. His charity was as profuse as the extortion which made it possible was constant. Again and again, as the greater festivals came around, orders were issued to fill the palace even to the king's and queen's chambers, with poor people, and to feast them for days together. At one moment he orders that all the gold to be had in London should be obtained

for his use; at another a vestment, "the most beautiful ever seen," was to be bought; then, again, 600 marks' worth of jewelled rings and brooches were to be purchased.

On the Abbey church he continuously showered his gifts—silver vessels for the chrism; banners, baudekins, and other hangings (one to be hung opposite the organs); four silver candlesticks for the shrine; a great silver crown to set wax candles upon; twelve "obols de musc" to be attached to the crucifix; a large cross for the nave, and two cherubim to be placed on either hand; a crown of the value of twenty pounds to be offered to St. Edward; a cloth, 12 ft. by 6 ft., to be broidered with pearls, representing images from the Bible (in 1253); a precious jewel worth 60 or 100 marks; and so on.

In 1241 he seems to have begun a new golden shrine for the Confessor, and from this time expenses in connection with this great work continually occur. We may suppose that his intention to rebuild the church dates from this time, although active preparation does not seem to have been made until 1243.* In 1247 the king obtained a portion of the Holy Blood, duly attested by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Matthew Paris gives a sketch of the procession when the king carried it from St. Paul's to the Abbey, just as St. Louis had brought his Holy Thorns into Paris. (Fig. 39.) Two or three years later a footprint, said to have been made at the Ascension, was also sent to Henry,

* In 1246 he ordained by charter that he should be buried by the Confessor's side.

and was by him given to Westminster. Langtoft and other chroniclers tell us that Henry built, at his own cost, "le overayne bele a Westminster." The artists whom he employed were the royal masons and carpenters attached to the palace, and it is owing to the fact that the money for the work passed through the king's coffers that the bills for the work have been preserved as Government documents.

Fig. 39.—Henry III. and the Relic

As to-day at a large country house we may find an estate carpenter and mason permanently engaged, so to the king's palace were attached a chief royal mason, carpenter, smith, and painter, just as there were a chief butler and cook; and these officers followed one another in unbroken succession. The office of royal mason existed as a sinecure almost until to-day. In the time of Charles I. it was still held by a working mason, Nicholas Stone, who was appointed in 1626 king's mason and architect, "as Will Suthis had been." A century later the painter-architect, Kent, was appointed king's mason. Under the chief master-mason or carpenter a body of journeymen were permanently engaged, but at times of special effort they were "pressed by royal warrant to work at the king's wages," a custom which has not very long lapsed in the Royal Navy.*

At Westminster, when any serious work of

* For masons of the Household of Edward II., see Brayley and Britton's "Palace of Westminster."

masonry was going forward, the master-mason was likely to be in daily contact with the king, and mention of exchanges of wine between Henry III. and his mason suggests their intimate relations. John of Gloucester, indeed, was king of masonry in these realms.

When masonry was undertaken a mason had charge of it, and, later, a carpenter was called in, while a clerk kept the accounts. Henry III.'s work at Westminster was usually conducted through Odo, a goldsmith, and, later, his son Edward, who acted as treasurers, paying for materials and hiring workmen. These clerkly officials are sometimes called "keepers of the works" at Westminster. The master workmen are also called keepers of the works at times, and they then seem to have also overlooked and guaranteed the accounts.*

The fabric accounts for Westminster are most accurate and systematic. They were made up weekly, and discriminate between payments for wages, for "task-work," and for materials. They usually specify every man's trade, and distinguish between the master-craftsman and the other workmen so precisely that there is but little difficulty or danger of error in following the career of "Master Henry the king's master-mason," or "Master Alexander the king's carpenter." In some cases I have been able to trace back these great artists, the architects of our Gothic monuments, to a time when they were working as journeymen, much as

* Hudson Turner has called Edward the "architect" of the church and Robert of Beverley a clerk of works, but this, as we shall see, inverts their offices.

we can trace the antecedents of bishops to a time when, as poor boys, they were apprenticed to religion. *

In the poetic Life of the Confessor, written about 1270, we are told how he called together masons and carpenters for the conduct of the work, and in the original MS. at Cambridge there is a painted illustration showing the craftsmen taking their instructions from the king. (Fig. 65.) Their dress, of course, is that of the time of Henry III. A group of three stand forward to hear the king. The first is a master-mason in official master's cap, wearing gloves and carrying a long levelling "straight-edge." Kneeling below him is the carpenter with a coif on his head and bearing an axe. Behind the master is another mason, who bears a stone-axe and turns to pass on the instructions to the body of workers behind. It is virtually a picture of Henry III.'s craftsmen at the Abbey—let us say portraits of Robert de Beverley, Alexander the carpenter, and the foreman of masons.

Matthew Paris also gives a second little sketch relating to Westminster, which is interesting as a memorial of Henry's chief gifts to Westminster ; it shows the church, the shrine, and the great bells. (Fig. 40.)

The first royal mason I have found mentioned is

* There are probably nearly a hundred of these Fabric Rolls, many of them 12 ft. to 20 ft. long. Most of these are at the Record Office, calendered as Works Q.R. I have also made use of a valuable MS. Calendar of Close Rolls at the same place. Other Rolls are in the MS. Department of the British Museum. Several at the Abbey I only know through the Calendar in the "Historic MSS. Report," vol. iv.

Radulphus "Cementarius Regis," who was working in 1171 at Dover Castle, and in the next year at Chilham. Two years before, in 1169, I find the style "Magister" Robertus Cementarius. The earliest London mason I have found named is Andrew, Cementarius at St. Paul's in 1127, where he was doubtless the master.

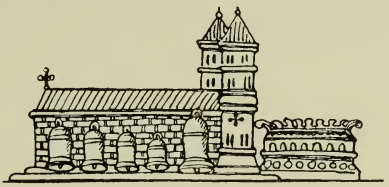

Fig. 40.—Church, Shrine and Bells from M. Paris

In 1236–7 the keeper of the works at the Palace of Westminster was John of Waverley, mason; and two years later the carpentry work of the palace was in the hands of Master Alexander the carpenter, whom we shall meet again working at the Abbey.

Sources of the Design.

Up to about the year 1200 our early Gothic work developed along with the Art of Normandy and of the French kingdom. After this time there was a serious set-back to the progress of building in England, caused by the general political and social ills of the time—the loss of Normandy and Anjou, the Pope's Interdict, and the Barons' War. Our church at Westminster clearly shows a return of Continental influence; and, even more, a study of particular French models. It was erected just at the moment when French building art had attained to European fame. Cologne Cathedral, the greatest of French churches, although on German soil, was begun only three years later than Westminster,

and, in Spain, the cathedrals of Toledo, Burgos, and Leon, are all noble offshoots of the French School.

French Gothic Art of the middle of the thirteenth century had been shaped by the tremendous experimental force with which it was pushed forward to constructive results such as English masons hardly apprehended. It was the conscious aim of French masons to make every member do its uttermost; the result was structure of maximum tension. Carlyle's chance phrase, that Cologne Cathedral was "the supreme of earthly masonry," well expresses what the great Gothic School desired to attain to.

When Westminster was begun the choir of Reims had been consecrated four years; the Sainte Chapelle in Paris was well advanced, and it was consecrated in 1248; the nave of Amiens was finished, its vast choir was just being begun, and it was *completed* in the same year, 1269, in which Henry III.'s work at Westminster was consecrated. Beauvais, the mightiest choir of them all, was begun in 1247 and finished in 1271, thus exactly following Westminter at an interval of two years.

Gilbert Scott supposed that Henry III., being enamoured of the French type of church, sent his Master of the Works to visit the French cathedrals. In "imitating" the great contemporary churches of France, he thinks that he was especially influenced in planning the radiating apsidal chapels, and in the tracery of the windows which follows the bar-type first used at Reims. The arrangement of the flying buttresses is, he also points out, in the French manner. Of the portals of the

north transept he writes, that they are "the only instance in which these glorious portals, so common in France, were directly imitated in an English church." He shows, however, that the details are typically English, except for the work of possibly one French carver. G. G. Scott, junior, says, "it is clearly the work of an English architect who was well acquainted with Reims, Amiens, and Beauvais."

Reims.

With all this I fully agree, except that for Beauvais I would substitute Paris. And more than this, I have no doubt that Reims was the specific type which was followed at Westminster. We may see a reason for this in the fact that both are coronation churches; and it may have been that the rebuilding of the former led Henry III. to his undertaking at Westminster. It is a remarkable fact that Reims is the only Gothic cathedral church in France in which the choir passes to the west of the crossing, and includes the first bays of the structural nave exactly like the choir arrangement at Westminster.

When at Reims I have been impressed by a sense of its general resemblance to the so well-known Westminster church. The most striking likeness in detail is that one type of window, consisting of two lights with a big rose above, combined into tracery, is used throughout both churches, in the aisles, around the chapels, and along the clerestories. Our windows and the radiating chapels we may speak of as *copies* of those at Reims. In both Westminster and Reims the interior of a chapel

is made up of a wall-arcade with a wall-passage above, and of a series of tall windows filling out the rest of the wall space right up to the vault cells. Besides the general resemblance, there are too many coincidences of detail to be explained except as the result of direct imitation ; for example : the planning of the buttresses ; the narrow piers between the windows threaded by the wall-passages ;

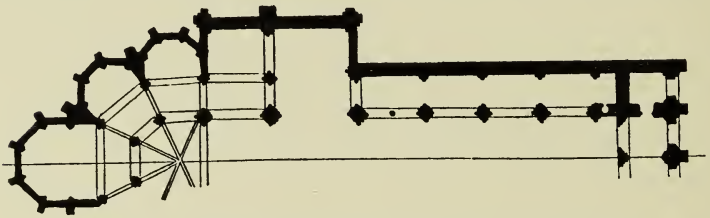

Fig. 41.—Destroyed Church of St. Pharon at Meaux

the rib lying against the surface of the vault in the position of a rere-arch to each window ; the stilted form of the windows, whereby it was made possible to obtain very large roses, in each case of similar six-foiled form ; the way in which the windows are associated with the buttresses on the outside, and, within, are copied on the blank sides of the chapels. The divisions between the chapels are also much alike. At Reims the terminations of these divisions against the ambulatory take the form of half of one of the main piers of the choir arcade, and Professor Willis, in his Commentary on Villars de Honnecourt, notes that this plan was followed at Westminster and Beauvais. (Fig. 42.) The continuous wall passage along the top of the wall-arcade for the service of the altars of the chapels at Westminster is exactly like that at

Reims. (Fig. 59.) In the general planning of the apse and its chapels at Westminster the form seems to be arrived at by combining the scheme of Reims, which also had five chapels, with such plans as that of Amiens and of St. Pharon at Meaux, where the outside pair of apse chapels are thrown to the west of the centre point of the apse much as at Westminster.* (Fig. 41.) At Reims, as at Westminster, a window in one of the apsidal chapels on each side of the church tells in the vista of the side aisles. (Fig. 59.) At both we find similar oblong chapels at the springing of the apse.

The pillars in both churches are of one general form, made up of a central drum and four shafts, although at Westminster the shafts are separated from the core to suit the marble construction. The bases, again, at Westminster, those at the east of the apse especially, with their flattened roll and the distinction between the projection for the main base and for the lesser shafts, so characteristic of French work, are copies of those around the choir at Reims. (Fig. 42.) The highly developed carved spurs to the bases are also of French character. There is one to the right of the gate entering the north ambulatory, which has a vigorous carving of a lion attacking a horse, all in polished marble. (Fig. 124.)

* This is not followed at Hayles Abbey, where the chevet (1271) was copied from Westminster except that it is closer to the Reims prototype. To compare the chapels of Reims with those of Westminster it is well to take V. le Duc's volumes, which contain the interior and exterior views, to the Abbey.

At Reims, and at Westminster, the capitals of the piers were linked together with a system of iron ties

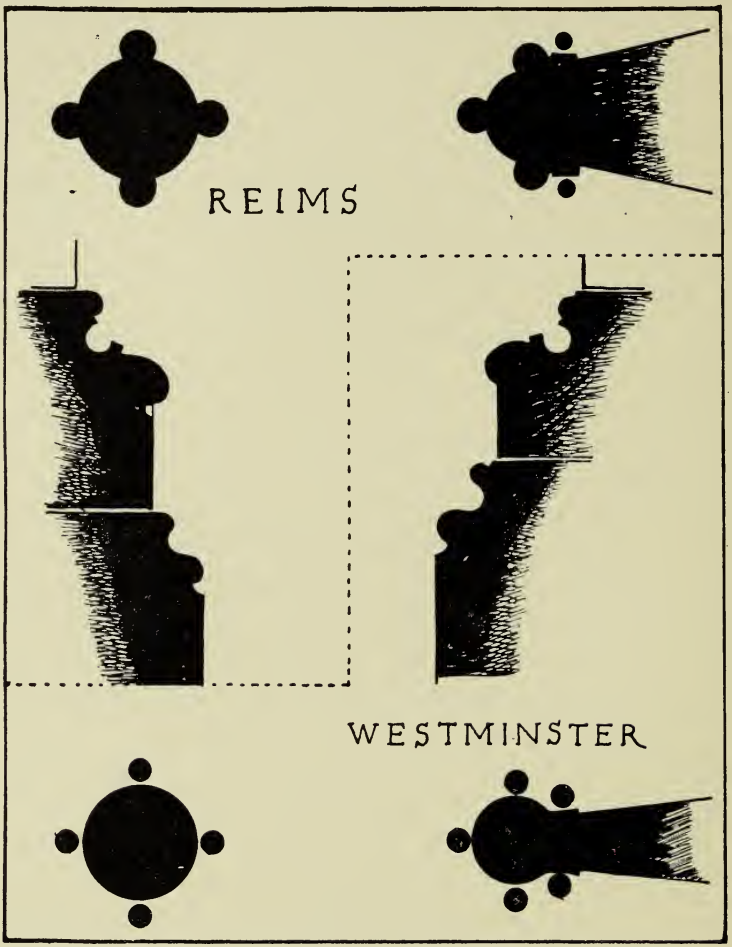

Fig. 42.—Pillars and bases at Reims and Westminster

passing across at the springing of the arches. "At the Cathedral of Reims," says Viollet-le-Duc, "the construction of which was executed with great magni-

ficence, they substituted for provisional ties in wood placed under the springing stones of the arches, hooks of iron to which were attached iron bars having an eye at each end." The hooks remain at Reims, but the bars have been removed.

The vaulting ribs of the aisles follow a distinctly French section, and there are other French mouldings in the church. Another method of construction which was adopted from the French is to be found in the way that the clerestory windows are brought towards the inside of the church, and not set, as usual, in sloping jambs ; they were finished with nearly *similar* pillars and mouldings both inside and out. The doubling of the tracery plane in the triforium is also derived from French work. At the moment when Westminster was built triforia pierced *à-jour* were all the rage. At St. Denis, Amiens, Tours, Chartres (St. Pierre), and a dozen other great churches we find a continuous band of doubled tracery as here, but the outer plane is glazed like the bays of our South Transept, which form a continuation of the triforium.

A second chief foreign source for the forms of the Westminster architecture is the Ste. Chapelle. Of course I suppose all English traditions to have been known to the master as well as the special continental influences.

The Ste. Chapelle.

St. Louis, having obtained the Crown of thorns from the East, began the Ste. Chapelle to contain it in 1241. All this was instantly known in England, and Matthew Paris records the very day the relic

was received from Constantinople—March 20, 1241—and uses his best word—" incomparable "—for the new chapel. Henry III.'s artistic sympathies with France is referred to in a contemporary ballad, in which he is made to say, " Paris is a great town, and in it is a chapel which I would like to carry off to London in a cart *tout droit*." * This chapel is the first work in which an attempt was made to transform the walls into thin rigid props containing only glass; in its achievement the possibilities of Gothic construction were practically exhausted, and no other building has had such influence except, perhaps, Reims.

Fig. 43.— Diagram of Chapter House Windows

Scott pointed out the resemblance of the four-light windows of the Chapter House to those in St. Louis' Chapel, and this is so evident that one set must be a copy of the other. (Fig. 43.) In the Paris example the cusps of the six-foil terminate in bunches of carving. This is the origin of the rounded ends of those at Westminster; indeed, in some of the chapels of the apse several of the cusp-ends are also carved. In the apse at the Ste. Chapelle the heads of the tracery are made of three uncontained trefoils balanced on one another. (Fig. 11.) We find a similar treatment in the earlier portion of the Westminster cloister. (Fig. 42.) Didron, long ago, showed that

* J. Wright, Political Songs.

the two types of windows at the Ste. Chapelle were copied in the earliest portion of Cologne Cathedral; and that they instantly became most famous is shown by the numerous imitations of them which sprang up in France. The clerestory of Tours Cathedral, for instance, shows both patterns used in the same relation as at Paris.

Uncontained trefoil heads and quatrefoils are also found in the lateral wall-arcades at the Ste. Chapelle, and the wall-arcade of the apse is of cusped arches which may have set the type for those throughout Westminster. The remarkable triangular windows of the Westminster triforium may have originated from those in the lower chapel in Paris, although there are similar windows in the west end of Amiens Cathedral.

Amiens.

The north portal of Westminster is not only, as Scott pointed out, more like the west front of a typical French church than anything else we have to show in England, but its design was, I believe, founded on specific study of the then just completed front of Amiens. We find there three similar steeply-gabled porches standing out *flush* with the lower parts of the dividing buttresses; the fronts of these buttresses being divided in each case into two-arched recesses for statues standing on corbels and ranging with those in the central porch (in both cases the twelve Apostles), thus making a continuous band across the front. Above the lateral porches at Amiens the west windows of the aisles are deeply set in recesses like a similar curious arrangement

at Westminster, and still higher the external wall-arcade of coupled lights runs right across the front beneath the rose window, just as at our transept. (Fig. 44.) The bay design of the interior, as will

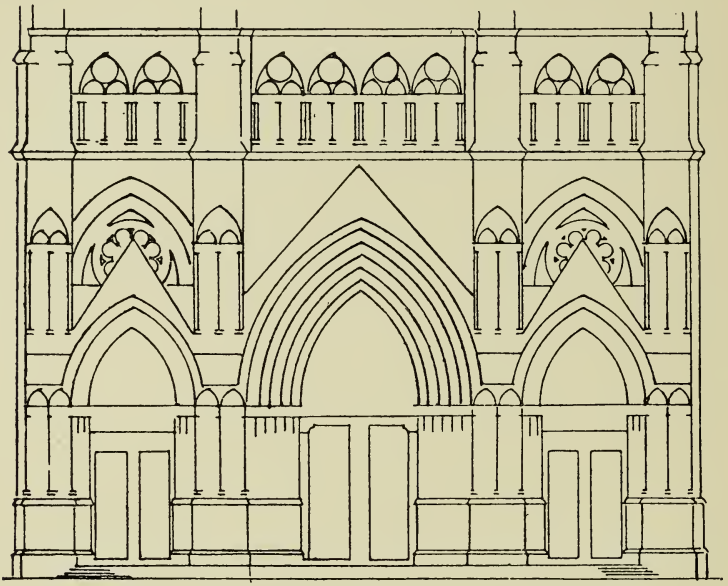

Fig. 44.—Diagram of lower part of west front of Amiens Cathedral

be shown below, is derived from Amiens ; even the square diaper which covers all the spandrels of the arcades at Westminster seems to be taken from the similar diaper which adorns the porches of the French church. (Fig. 46.)

On the whole, I consider it to be certain that the Westminster church was designed after a careful study had been made of the cathedrals of Reims and Amiens, and of the Ste. Chapelle, and

that parts, like the apsidal chapels, are practically copied from French prototypes. The old Rose window, as will be shown on another page, was almost exactly like several French Roses.

We may readily make the fullest allowance for French influence at Westminster, for so entirely is it translated into the terms of English detail that the result is triumphantly English. It is a remarkable thing, indeed, that this church, which was so much influenced by French facts, should, *in spirit*, be one of the most English of English buildings. This, perhaps, is only to be felt by those accustomed to read what is in buildings and cannot easily be demonstrated.

We have the testimony of Viollet-le-Duc that the construction of its vaults followed a fashion quite distinct from the general French tradition of the time.

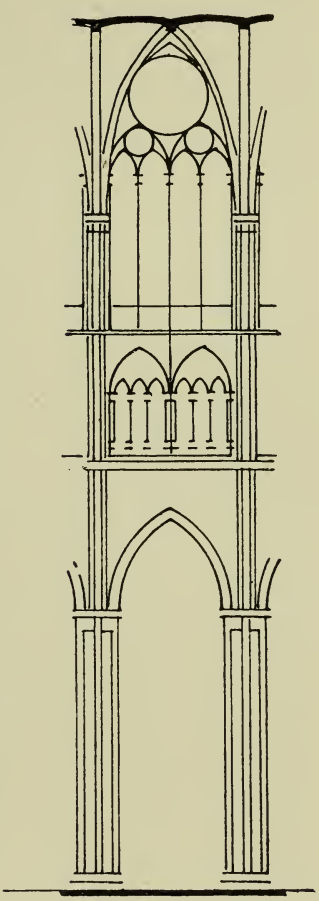

Fig. 45.—Diagram of bay of the interior, Amiens

Considering the unity and exquisite beauty of the completed church and its resemblance to French work, we might suppose that it was the result of unfettered genius working on these elements ; as a matter of fact, the walls overlie

the ancient foundations of the Confessor's church to such an extent that it is, as regards plan, rather a rebuilding than a fresh departure. Its general form, indeed, is so French partly because it was rebuilt on early lines, for a French church hardly ever developed like an English one by being drawn out far to the east. Such conditions of planning must have precluded any system of abstract proportioning such as Scott looked for.

That Master Henry, who, as will be shown, was the master mason at the Abbey from its commencement, was an Englishman is proved sufficiently by his work ; that he had no other name than Henry goes to show that he was a London man.

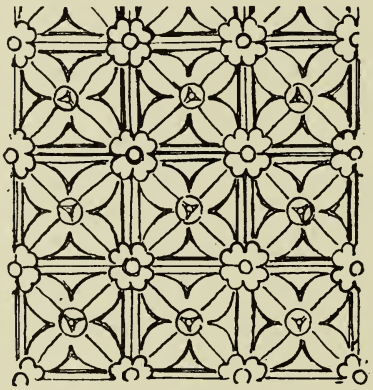

Fig. 46.—Diaper from the West front, Amiens Cathedral

CHAPTER VI

POINTS OF CONSTRUCTION

Construction : The Original Forms : Course of the Work.

Construction.

THE most singular characteristic of the church is the way in which the chapels of the chevet are carried up so as to form a second storey on the triforium level. In many French churches of the Gothic period there are important triforium storeys, lighted by a second row of windows over those of the aisles. Such a triforium, however, where it passes around the apse at the east end, usually follows the width of the ambulatory only. I know of no parallel to the scheme of Westminster, but the dignity attained by the group of tall chapels is as impressive as it is original.*

As a result of adapting a new church to the old cloister a remarkable contrivance was resorted to, whereby, notwithstanding the limits imposed by the cloister, the South Transept might seem to have double aisles like that to the North. The angle of the cloister occupies the lower half of the western aisle of the South Transept, but the upper half is open to the church, forming thus a floor intermediate between the ground level and the triforium. (Fig. 11.) The great height of the arcades made this possible. The height of the ground arcade and the acute form of its arches are only factors in the great interior height of

* At Valenciennes the transeptal chapels and that at the east end, the middle one of three apsidal chapels, rose to the upper storey.

the building which much overpasses any other English church. It is 30 ft. to the top of the capitals, 45 to the apex of the arches, 48.3 to the string under the triforium, and 63 to that under the clerestory. In the presbytery it is 76.3 to the springing of the vault, 86.6 to the springing of the windows, 99 ft. to the bosses of the vaulting, and just exactly 100 ft. to the apex of the interior vault surface.*

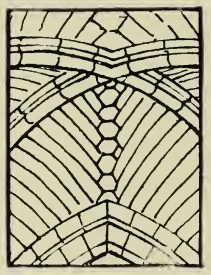

Fig. 47.—Vault at Avesniers, near Laval: *c.* 1180

The presbytery floor is about 3 ft. above the level of the aisles and transepts. The normal width of the bays is about 19 ft. from centre to centre. The side bays of the presbytery are only about 17.0, and the height is thus six times the dimension. If the whole height be divided into six parts, it will be found that the ground storey occupies three parts, the triforium one part, and the clerestory two parts. This relation of parts so closely agrees with the Amiens bays that we must suppose that it was derived from that cathedral.

The Westminster vaults resemble those of France in their height, but they follow, as said above, a different scheme from that which was in general use in France, although this scheme, which became the favourite English fashion, was occasionally resorted to by the French. (Fig. 47.)

In the Westminster system the courses of the filling instead of being, as in French work, shaped

* See drawings in "Arch. Assoc. Sketch Book," 1891.

so that as they rise they work out parallel to the ridge, are set across the web of the vault and allowed to strike at the apex as they may against a ridge rib, or a sort of notched backbone. Although in some of the vaults so done there may be a little shaping of the courses, by this method so much care is not necessary as there would be to work them out exactly to the ridge line. (Fig. 48.) The later developments brought about by this method were, as Viollet-le-Duc says, "no caprice or question of taste, but the rigorous application of a method followed out to its deductions." The method of making the courses of the filling fall on the diagonal ribs appears to have brought about the English fashion of rebating the ribs; and that, in turn, led to covering up our vaults with a second layer, usually of concrete, which bound all together. This second layer is found at Westminster. It also led, quite naturally, to a greater subdivision of the vault surfaces by additional ribs, and over the choir we find that the vault, which is, perhaps, not more than ten years later than that to the east, has developed them. Such vaults with additional ribs

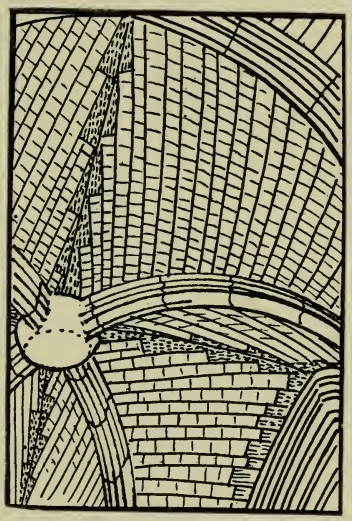

Fig. 48.—Diagram of Vault of Aisles at Westminster

required also ridge ribs against which the intermediates might abut. In the choir vault the ridge rib is made much of, being carved throughout. Ridge ribs appear also in the earlier vaults to the east where they receive the ends of the filling courses, which run into them at an angle. In the smaller bays of the aisle there are no ridge ribs, but such support for the filling courses was felt to be desirable in the greater compartments. The filling is of chalk with courses of harder stone at intervals.

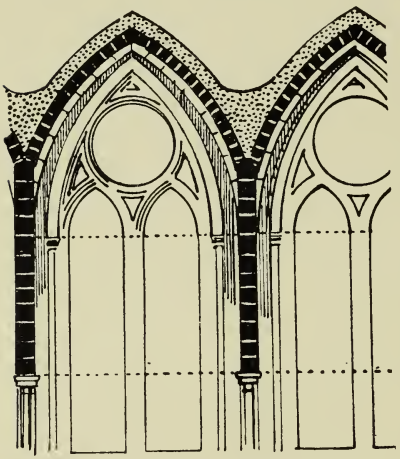

Fig. 49.—Relation of Vault to Clerestory Windows

The clerestory windows are pushed high up into the vaults (Fig. 49); they spring 10 ft. above the springing of the vaulting and consequently the fillings of the vault, between the windows, are little more than vertical strips of walling on the back of the transverse ribs. This portion of the work is jointed horizontally for about 16 ft., and the sheaf of ribs is jointed horizontally for about 6 ft. above the caps. The diagonal ribs in the presbytery seem to "wind" a little in plan, so that they diverge quicker from one another than they would on a normal course.

It should be noticed in the aisles that the transverse members of the vault are much more sub-

stantial than the diagonal ones. They are arches rather than ribs. In the main vault of the presbytery there is a similar difference, but it is not so marked, the transverse ribs being three inches bigger.* The arches of the main arcade have

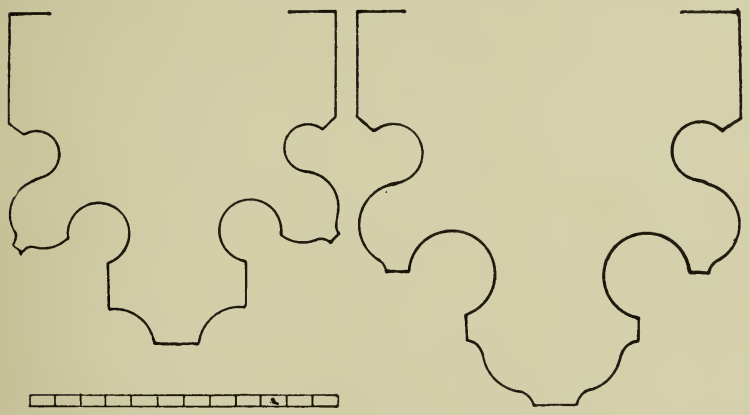

Fig. 50.—Diagonal and Transverse Ribs of Vault over Presbytery

a radius of at least twice the span. Notice the distortion of the arch leading from the South Transept to the ambulatory caused by the desire to make the apex centre with the triforium.

The sections of early mouldings were designed within a general square bounding form ; late mouldings usually conform to a slanting plane. In the mouldings of Westminster the groups of projecting members seem generally to be included within imaginary segments of circles, which satisfactorily echo the roundness of the pillars. The section of the great arches, however, approximate in their lower order to the chamfer plane. (Fig. 51.)

* 15 × 15 ins. and 12 × 12 ins. (See Fig. 50.)

Above some of the capitals there is a seating-block from which the mouldings rise. It is not used consistently throughout, but its proper mean-

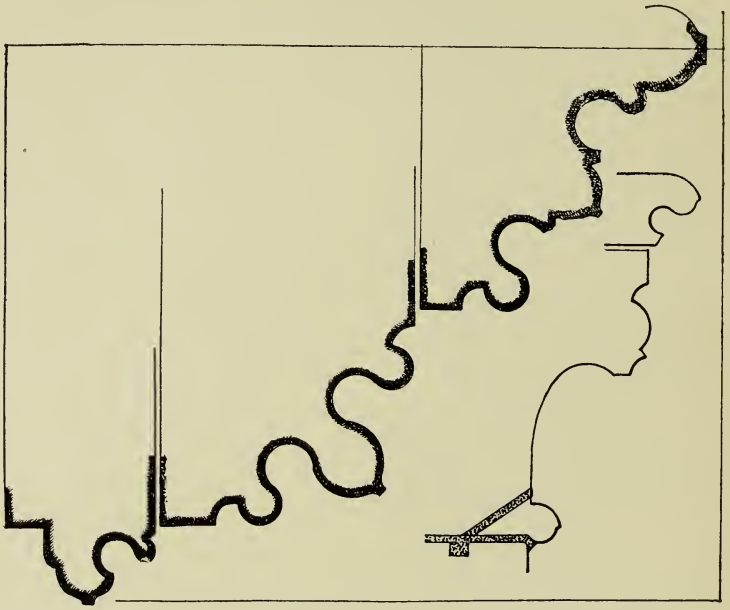

Fig. 51.—Section of Mouldings of Ground Arcade in Presbytery

ing may be thus explained. If we design an arch section having deeply-indented hollows and bring two of these together, as they would be at the springing over a capital, then the bearing area of stone may at this point seem dangerously weakened, may, in fact, be less strong than the column beneath. Now a seating at the springing of the arches will swallow up the hollows of the mouldings until the arches have diverged far enough to be of any desired sectional strength. That this feature is not used throughout we may explain best by the

fact that portions of the work (like so many arches) were done by "task-work." Some of the masters thought this seating desirable and others did not. In the triforium there are variants of these seatings in carved super-capitals. (Fig. 52.)

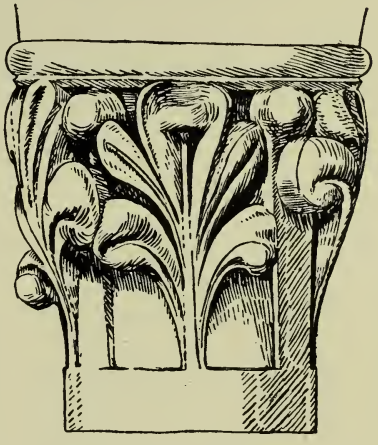

Fig. 52.—Super-Capitals of Triforium

Another interesting feature of the construction is the very large scale of the traceried windows of the clerestory, aisles, and chapels, and the way in which those of the ground floor occupy a whole compartment to the absorption of the wall.* In the exterior re-entering angle, between pairs of adjoining chapels on the north and the south sides of the chevet, even the exterior jambs have disappeared, and only the buttress remains, to which the glazing is made fast. (Figs. 53 and 59.) In the same faces of the chapels in the triforium storey, small two-light windows take the place of the triangular windows generally used in the triforium, but which were too wide for this situation. From the inside this change of window seems a not to be explained

* The lights in the end bays of the transepts must be 5 ft. wide; the clerestory lights are 4 ft. 1 in. wide to the east, and 4 ft. 6 in. in the choir. The windows of the south aisle, which by reason of the cloister outside have to be made shorter than these to the north, are so contrived that this difference is hardly noticeable.

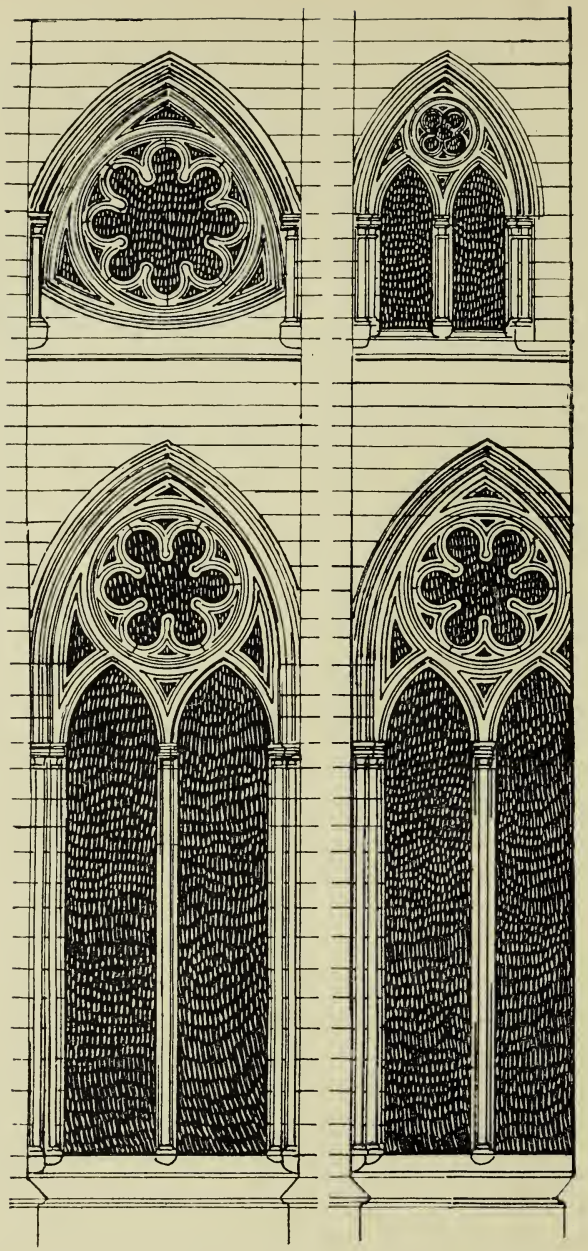

Fig. 53.—Arrangement of Windows in Apsidal Chapels

caprice, but there are no such whims at Westminster. (Fig. 53.) The way the windows of the South Transept are grouped together into one composition of a windowed wall is very advanced for the date. (Fig. 6.) The six lancets below, the three couplets of the middle stage, and the rose above, are all on the way to run together and form one great traceried

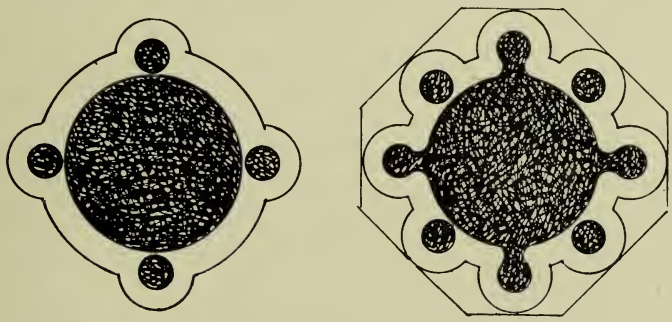

Fig. 54.—Plans of Main Piers : east and west of the crossing

window. This principle was being actively worked out in France in the middle of the thirteenth century. In the transept ends the wall surface is entirely occupied by windows and arcades. For an ordinary bay the only plain wall spaces are the strips by the clerestory windows ; all the rest is covered with diapering. There are no other such great squared rose windows as those of the Westminster transepts in England. The foiled roses of the ordinary windows are cut out of thin slab-like stones, and inserted in grooves in the circles in the early French fashion. (Cusped heads of lights in the Cloister and Chapter House were also separately inserted.) The leaded glazing was attached to wood frames set in external rebates

and hooked back to interior iron bars which pass across the openings. The double plane of tracery to the triforium is at once very beautiful, and very rigid construction.

An interesting instance of the modification of a form by practical work-shop reasoning may be observed in the marble pillars of the choir west of the crossing. (Fig. 54.) To the east they are made up of

Fig. 55.—Bronze band (full size)

a central drum and four small circular shafts ; to the west there are eight shafts, four attached and four free, and a stronger, richer pillar is thus obtained out of the same amount of marble and with less expenditure of labour. These same pillars have bands of *bronze*, instead of marble, which are moulded, but hardly more than an inch in thickness ; they must be cast, I suppose. They keep the lead in the joints from being squeezed out. All the small marble shafts are seated on lead.

Where such shafts are grouped about the built-up pillars of the great arcade, which are also of marble, they are attached by moulded bands which divide the height into sections not too long for slender monoliths. These bands were built in

with the columns, but the shafts were not put in place until the general building work was completed and had settled. The beds of these bands and the upper surface of the bases and lower surface of the capitals were sunk out a quarter of an inch or so, and the slender shafts being cut exactly the right length, so that they would slip

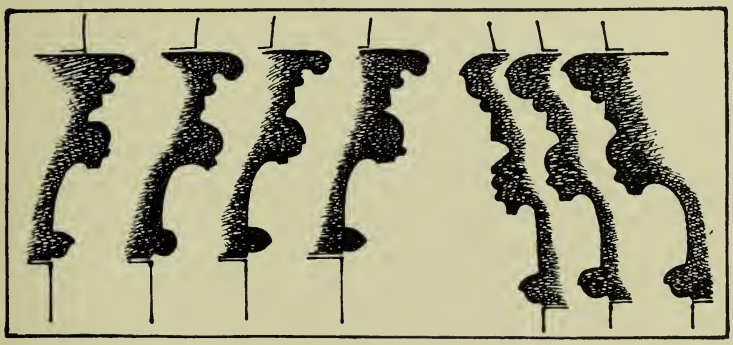

Fig. 56.—Profiles of Capitals from S. Transept

readily into place, molten lead was run into the beds at the top by means of a hole drilled in each capital (Fig. 51) ; below, I suppose, through the bands. The slender marble vaulting shafts in lengths averaging about eight feet were fixed after the walling had been done by means of iron cramps leaded into the walls.

I have spoken of the variety in the way in which the arches spring above the capitals. There is throughout constant change in the smaller details like the forms of the caps. Thus, in the row of four in an upper stage of South Transept the profile is different in every case. (Fig. 56.) In the arch ornamentation of the triforium at the end of the South

Transept the three bays have arches moulded, carved, and diapered respectively, and this varia-

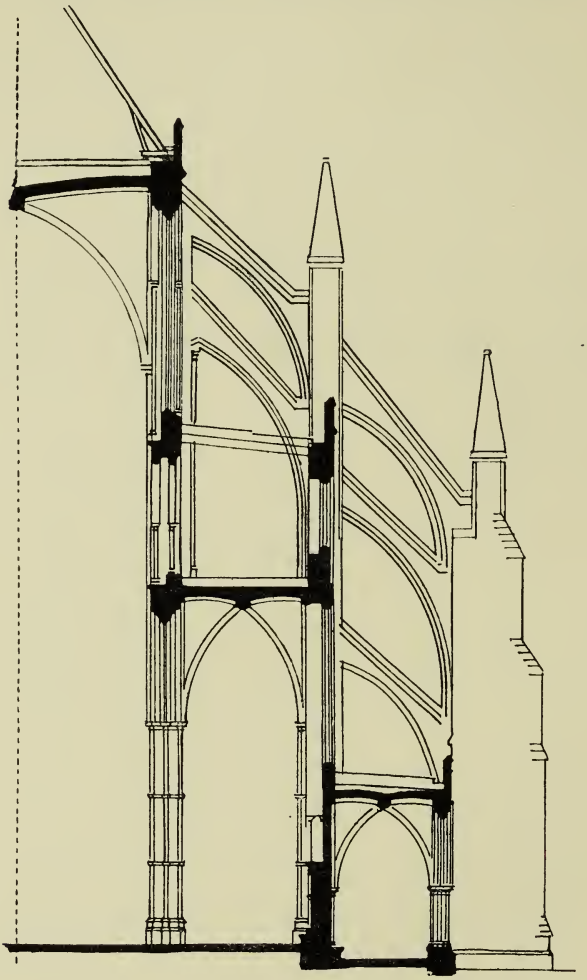

Fig. 57.—Buttress System S. Side of Choir

tion in groups of three is continued in the eastern limb. On the east side of the North Transept the

arches are carved alternately with giant "dog-tooth" a foot square, and with rosettes set over a moulding.

The flying buttresses are highly developed. Owing to the fact that the buttresses of the south side have to pass across the cloister, they have to be of enormous size. (Fig. 57.) From the outside face of the buttress in the cloister-green to the plane of the clerestory is, measured horizontally, 50 ft. There are first three tiers of fliers over the cloister, and two tiers above over the aisle, that is, five fliers in all to each "archiboutant." In the triforium at the back of each of the bay-piers is a shaft with a proper base above the floor. These shafts are not carried to completion above, and it is not at once evident what their meaning is. The fliers of French buttresses usually rest above on the capitals of such shafts, and these were for the same purpose. If my memory is not faulty, one or two of them just come above the lead roof of the triforium at present. (See Fig. 57.)

The transept ends are effectively buttressed: at the south by the vaulted chapel of St. Faith and the buttressing arch which passes across it: at the north by the deep porches and the arcaded wall above, which is of great thickness. Within the church the whole construction was, from the first, laced up with iron to an extent which is without parallel. At Vezelay the high vaults had iron transverse ties, the hooks for which still remain. In William of Sens' work, at Canterbury, the arcade around the eastern transept is stayed with iron. At Westminster there are not only continuous longitudinal ties to the arcades, but others pass across the

aisles, so that in some perspectives four or five bars may be seen crossing at different angles. (Fig. 58.)

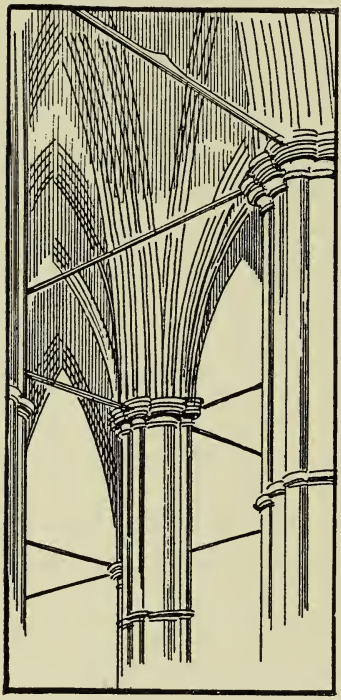

Fig. 58.—Diagram showing Iron Tie-bars of the Interior

At the triforium there are two continuous iron bands which pass along at the springings of the doubled planes of tracery. Certain rods which stand clear of the glass at the back of the windows of the chapels are also, I believe, ancient and continuous. Other ties thread the end windows high up in the aisles of the North Transept. The Chapter House had eight rods passing from the central stem to the ribs, just like those in an umbrella, but of these only the hooks remain.

It is certain that the iron ties were part of the first construction. Wren speaks of the original architect having tied the arches every way with iron ; but many of them, he says, had been " unhooked." Some are shown in position in the engraving in Sandford's " Burial of the Duke of Albemarle " (1670). There are several of them which are not attached by hooks, but are built into the work directly, and some, or all, of *these* are not mere square rods, but are slightly shaped, so that

they rise to a peak in the centre of the span ; these are certainly of thirteenth-century workmanship. (Fig. 62, IIII.)

The long Fabric Roll of 1253 shows that in that year a large quantity of iron was brought from Gloucester for the works ; and in this year there were no less than nineteen smiths at one time engaged on the building. The shorter summary for 1253, also at the Record Office, gives a special item to the iron used for "nails and other purposes."—*In V^m IX^c ferri tenacis de Glouerna xx£.* In this, nearly three tons of iron, we must, I think, have the material from which many of the ties were made.

Original Forms.

It is perhaps impossible to get a clear idea as to the exact relation of the Lady Chapel of 1220 to the *chevet* of 1245. The chapel must have been considerably modified when, in 1256 vaults took the place of the wood roof. And as the plan of its apsidal termination seems most suitable for a vaulted structure, it is possible that it was lengthened, or even completely rebuilt, at this time.

The arch and responds at the east of the *chevet* seem to have been exactly like those opening into the other radiating chapels (Fig. 59), and I think there must have been an ante-chapel somewhat as at present, which, on the triforium stage, formed an eastern projection belonging to the main structure. (Fig. 60.) At the triforium level it is evident that the present wall of the *eastern* bay is a late insertion, and in

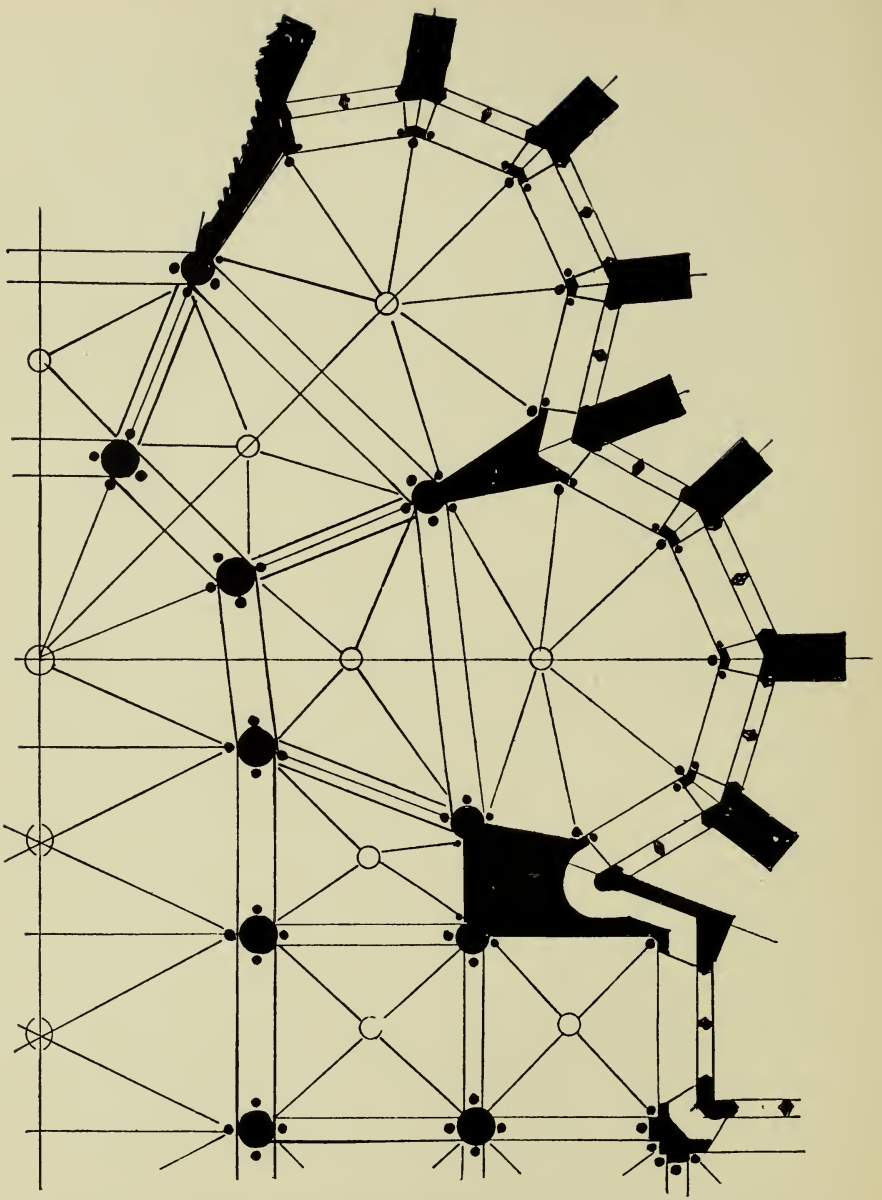

Fig. 59.—Sketch Plan of Apsidal Chapels, showing the passage along windows

the end walls of the two lateral chapels, which come next to the centre, arches may be seen which were once exactly like those between other pairs of the triforium chapels, but which are now

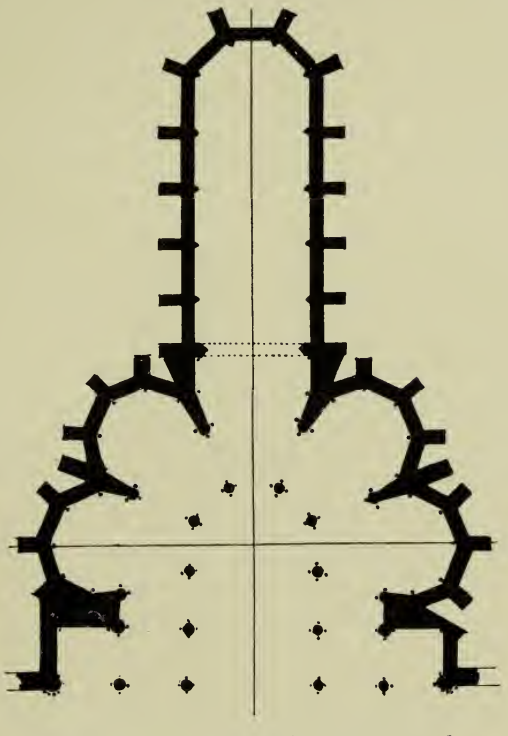

Fig. 60.—Suggested relation of Apse and Lady Chapel

walled up. This eastern triforium chapel was swept away, I suppose, to make the open area at the west of Henry VII.'s chapel for the sake of its great west window. All the work connected with this space is of late date. The intermediate work of Henry V.'s tomb complicates the problem. (Fig. 61.)

The window over the reredos of Henry V.'s chantry seems to be Henry VII.'s work, and below there has been some modification in the eastern piers which support the chantry. Only the western half of these piers is Henry V.'s work, and the central opening has been altered. It looks as if there had been a screen here in Henry V.'s work, and that the Lady Chapel was entered only by the two lateral openings.*

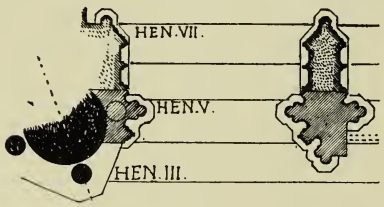

Fig. 61.—Various works at entrance to Lady Chapel

The central lantern tower was probably designed to rise not much above the ridge of the roof, something like the earlier parts of the central towers of Wells and Salisbury. We shall see that this "tower" is mentioned as early as 1274. The structure still shows some provision for it in the squinch arches made to let the parapet-walk pass the angles of the tower. We have seen that the vault over the

* The ends of the wall passages which pass along the window-sills of the chapels are blocked to the east by masonry. (Fig. 59.) That is, the passage was not continued beyond these points, and therefore we may be certain that there was never an eastern chapel of the same form as the others, with only low openings to the Lady Chapel. (The east window in the north-east chapel has its sill some five feet higher up than the others, and this seems to be the original arrangement, and is evidence of some obstruction outside.) My supposition is that there was a square eastern projection forming a chapel on the triforium floor, and a vestibule to the Lady Chapel below : I cannot think that when the Lady Chapel was much lower than at present there appeared an awkward interval in the ring of chapels.

crossing was never built; this can only mean that it was intended to be at a higher level altogether. I suppose the original intention was to have a low lantern tower as at Laon, with pairs of windows on each face, and a pyramidal roof above.

The Course of the Works.

That the old choir of the "Basilica" was destroyed before the commencement of Henry III.'s work is shown by the extreme accuracy of the setting out of the plan throughout. If a transverse view across the church is taken from St. John Baptist's chapel, it will be seen that the ridges of the vaults and centres of the arches are so perfectly in line that it is obvious that the setting out was done with the most careful accuracy on a cleared site. (Fig. 59.) The new work appears to have been begun with the eastern and three northern bays of the apse with the corresponding chapels. The bases of the pillars here with deep hollows are those we have spoken of as imitated from Reims, while westward in the choir, as well as in the transepts, a much simpler form for working in marble has been substituted. To this same portion of the apse, across the springings of the arches, and across the aisles, are wooden ties, whereas throughout the rest of this work iron ties occupy similar positions. (Fig. 62.) It might be thought that the wooden ties were comparatively recent stays but there has been no reason for their insertion at any time subsequent to the first erection of the tall pillars, and such wooden ties were frequently used in the erection of French works. Moreover, a further proof of their being a

part of the first scheme is to be seen in the capitals of the columns between which they stretch. These capitals are of a curiously plain profile, the bell not being undercut as is the case in the neighbouring capitals where the iron rods are used. After the first marble bases were fixed it must have been easy to see that the profile might be simplified without

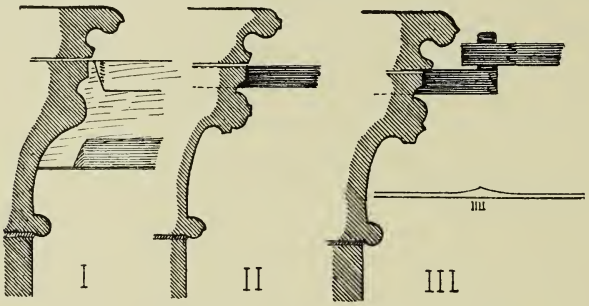

Fig. 62.—Various ties to the arches of the Chevet

harm, and it would have been equally apparent that the capitals required improvement. The next portion of the work comprised three bays on the south side which have iron ties which pass *through* the caps of the piers. Later it was found better to build in only hooks to which the ties might be attached afterwards. This third plan continues throughout the *first work*. In the later work of the nave no permanent ties were used.

An interesting modification in the marble work was made in the piers immediately to the west of the crossing as pointed out on p. 135.

A somewhat similar simplification of the marble work is to be seen in the piers in the centre of the bays of the triforium of the North Transept, where the shafts are also worked in beds.

I know of course, that Mr. Micklethwaite, who is almost an infallible authority on the Abbey, has expressed the view that it was some time after the beginning of the works in 1245 when the east end of the old church was pulled down ; that portions were first built round about it outside, and that the

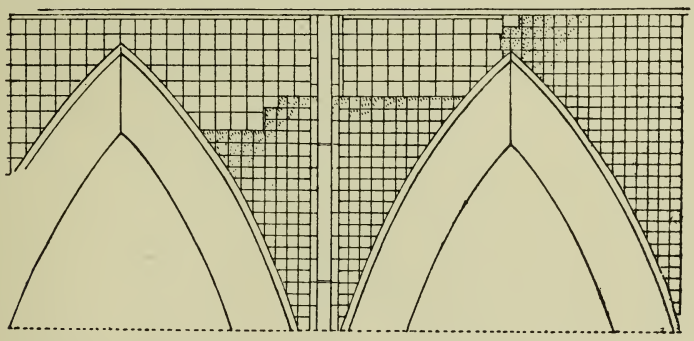

Fig. 63.—Diagram showing junction of the larger and later diaper, with the earlier, on N. side of Presbytery

earliest of these parts was the North Transept. But against this I would set not only the alternative reading I propose, but the clear testimony of the Chronicles and Fabric Rolls, and the evidence afforded by the speed with which the work was pressed on to completion. The extreme accuracy of all the setting out points to the same conclusion. Since getting so far I have observed a proof of this reading of the problem. In the first and second bays of the presbytery on the north side is to be seen what Mr. Vacher, on his carefully measured drawings, calls a " mason's muddle " in the diapering above the great arches. To the east the diaper is smaller, to the west it is bolder ; the latter overlaps the former in such a way as to

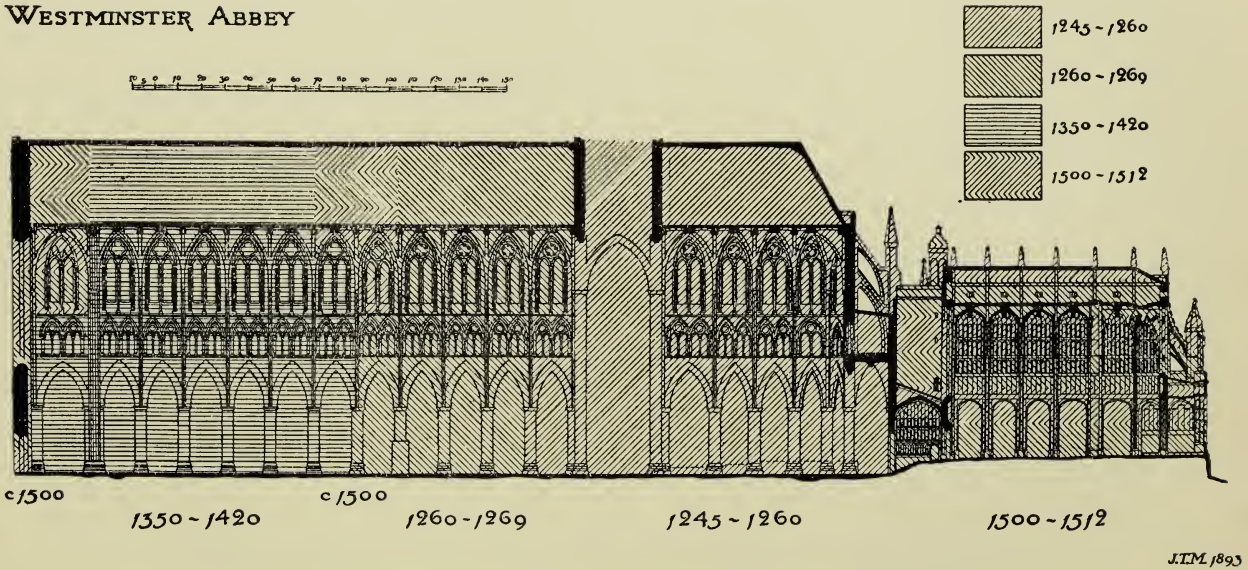

FIG. 64.—Section showing dates of the several parts of the work. By Mr. Micklethwaite

show that it was a subsequent work. Now the whole of the eastern limb of the church, except the small portion at the end of the north side, is covered with the earlier diapering. (Fig. 63.) So also is the east side of the South Transept, but the North Transept has the bolder diaper, which is in continuation of that which overlaps the earlier as just described. In the South Transept, moreover, there are one or two of the early form of capitals. The work began at the east end, the south side of the presbytery followed, and the South Transept. The North Transept would have been delayed by the great portal.

The Plan, Fig. 3, and the Section on the opposite page show the several stages of the works, and there cannot be a doubt as to the correctness of the dates assigned to the different parts by Mr. Micklethwaite, who has generously lent me these diagrams.

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST MASTERS

Master Henry of Westminster, 1244–1253 : Master John of Gloucester, 1253–1262 : Master Robert of Beverley, 1262–1280.

In 1243-4 preparations were being made for the rebuilding of the Confessor's church. In this year a mandate was addressed by the king to the Sheriff of Kent to provide one hundred barges of grey stone for the works to be undertaken at Westminster, of which W. de Haverhulle, the treasurer, and Edward were keepers.* Edward was son of Odo, the goldsmith, mentioned above, and succeeded him as one of the keepers of the King's Works. In the "Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London" we find William de "Haverille" and Edward of Westminster acting together four years later, when, on a quarrel arising between the king and the City authorities, the king took the City into his own hand and entrusted it to the custody of these two. This shows what manner of man was this Edward of Westminster, whom Hudson Turner and William Burges, without sufficient evidence, called the architect of the Abbey church.† In 1244 the king ordered the same keepers to see that the Knight's Chamber in the Palace of Westminster should be finished before Easter, even if they had

The Work of Master Henry of Westminster, 1244-1253.

* Walpole. Flints or Ragstone for the foundations.

† He was smelter to the Exchequer, then treasurer, and is called king's clerk.

to employ a thousand men.* This employment of a thousand men is a characteristic exaggeration in the king's speech, of which there are many examples.†

The Sheriff of Kent in 1244-5 was instructed to prevent stone being taken to London except for the works of Westminster. London was to suffer a great deal on account of these same works !

Fig. 65.—Masons and Carpenter, *c.* 1270. From MS "Life of the Confessor"

In this year the Sheriff of York was commanded to go "with Simon the carpenter and *Henry the mason*, whom the king sends with other experienced persons," to see how York Castle might be fortified.‡ This Henry, who was sent on such an important commission, was probably the king's favourite master mason of the time, and from what will appear below we may say that it is likely that he was already engaged as "architect" of the new Abbey church. The king's carpenter in charge of the works at Windsor in this year was Master Simon, and I find no other mason than this Henry mentioned in the Close Rolls at this time; St. George's Chapel at Windsor was begun in 1240, and he

* Close Rolls, 28 Henry III.

† In this year three keepers were ordered to hang the bells, the king's gift to the church—in the old west towers we may suppose.

‡ Sharpe's MS. Calendar of Close Rolls.

may have been master there together with Simon the carpenter.*

As to the beginning of actual building at the Abbey church we have very exact information. Under the year 1245 Matthew of Paris writes that the eastern part of the church, and the tower, were pulled down, and Matthew of Westminster and Rishanger give the very day. "The king caused the greater part of the Conventual Church of the Blessed Peter to be pulled down, beginning on the day week after the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul." Work was therefore begun on July 6, 1245, directly after the annual feast of the patron of the church, and the first step was the demolition of the greater part of the Confessor's building. This point is of some consequence, as Mr. Micklethwaite has endeavoured to show how the work was in part conditioned by its walls being built, portions at a time, outside the ancient work. We have further confirmation of the destruction of the old church in the fact that the royal persons of old buried by the altar appear at this time to have been exhumed. In 1244–5 (29 Henry III.) it was ordered that a cope should be ornamented with needlework of gold found on the body of Queen

* The two successors of Master Henry at Westminster were also concurrently masters at Windsor. Master John of Gloucester is mentioned in connection with the works there in 1255, and Master R. de Beverley in 1260. As a possible set off to this reasoning, it may be stated that in 1248 certain work at Windsor was done by the council of Thomas the mason and Simon the carpenter. In 1252 Thomas the mason of Windsor and his wife received robes. He was evidently a master, and may have been in charge from 1240 to the exclusion of Master Henry.

Edith, wife of St. Edward. Again, in 1246, a new abbot had to be elected, and Matthew of Westminster tells us how Crokesley was chosen as being agreeable to the king, on whose goodwill the work at the then "half-destroyed" church depended.

The Constable of the Tower was in 1245–6 ordered to deliver stone, mortar, timber, &c., to the *master of the works at Westminster*, and to Edward.* This master of the works other than Edward must be the chief mason, and below we shall find Henry the mason called by this title. The short indentures, called Feet of Fines, of the year 1246–7, give us an interesting piece of contributory evidence as to the presence of Henry the mason. Two messuages at Westminster were at this time acquired by Master Henry, Cementarius, and at the Record Office we may still see a copy of the deed whereby the master mason of the church took possession of his dwelling.†

At the Record Office there are also two Rolls of Accounts of the Fabric at Westminster of the years 33–37 Henry III.‡ The first of these is headed: "Receipts for the Fabric of the Church of St. Peter, Westminster, XXXIII. year of King Henry, Fourth Year from the Commencement of the Works" (1248–9). Similar accounts for the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth years follow on the same document, and the total receipts for these years is given: for the fourth, £2063; for the fifth, £2600; for the sixth, £2415; for the seventh, £2725; for the eighth, £2042. And in addition there is a note

* Close Roll. † See Hardy and Page, Feet of Fines.

‡ Exchequer Works, Q.R. 466, 29 and 30.

on the back of the Roll of the total receipts for the *first* five years of the works, amounting to £10,751, and we can consequently make up the total cost for the first eight years of the work, *i.e.*, £17,933.

Early in the Roll, that is, in the fourth year's account, occur the names of *Dominus Edwardus*, *Clericus*, and *Magister Henricus*, *Cementarius*.

Looking down this earliest account the following details may be noted: In the fourth year "Master H." answers for £60 received. Master Alexander (carpenter) is seen to be engaged on the spire of the belfry, and Master Odo (carpenter) is also named. Master Alberic received £45 for "task-work" on the cloister. Task-work means what we call piece-work, and it is evident from the large sum (worth, say, £1000) that he must have had several assistants, and that he was carrying out a contract for the workmanship of those bays of the cloister which belong to the first work. Master Richard Paris was also paid 100s. for working marble. John Sentori (St. Omer), a painter, is also named.

In the fifth year Master Henry had 40 marks given him (£26 13s. 4d.) for task-work, and Master Alexander, carpenter, £106 13s. 4d. for timber. In the sixth year (1250–51) John of St. Omer, painter, and Peter (de Hispania, also a painter) are named. In the seventh year 40 marks was again paid to Master Henry for task-work. Of the eighth year of the works (37 Henry III.) there is a separate short Roll entitled "Account of Divers Operations at the Church, Chapter House, Belfry,"*

* Works, Q.R. 466, 30.

&c. In it occurs an entry mentioning "Master John, with a carpenter and assistant at St. Alban's, working on the lectern." We know from another source that Master John of St. Omer, one of the most famous painters of this time, was instructed in 1249 to make a lectern for the new Chapter House, like one at St. Albans, "only more beautiful if it might be."* In our accounts we see Master John executing the order. The lectern which he was to emulate was probably the work of Walter of Colchester, the "incomparable" artist of St. Alban's, whose praises are sung by Matthew of Paris. We also find a payment for two images made by task-work, 53s. 4d. These, it has been suggested,† may be none other than the lovely Annunciation Group which stands within the doorway of the Chapter House, which we know from another payment for canvas to close its windows, mentioned in this same account, was at this moment being fitted up.

The South Transept of the church must have been carried up with the cloister, which, in fact, forms part of it, and which we saw was in hand in 1248–9. The whole body of the work must at this time have been well advanced. In that same year the independent belfry, which Stow tells us had a tall leaded spire, was having this spire erected by Alexander the carpenter and William the plumber. It stood on the north side of the church on the site later occupied by the Guildhall. In the account for 1253, twenty-four carpenters and nine plumbers appear as busy at it, and it was pro-

* Close Roll, and Walpole. † Mr. E. S. Prior.

bably completed in this year, as a special item of £157, expenses for the belfry, appears on the account.

While the bell-house was being finished its bells were being cast. In 1249–50 a mandate was issued to Edward to cause a bell to be cast larger than those made the year before. Another order directs that four bells should be made from the metal which remained from the great bell. The next year a bell answering to the great bell in tone, but smaller, was to be made. In 1252–3 Edward was commanded to cause the large new bell to be hung and rung by the eve of the Feast of St. Edward.* In 41 Hen. III. a payment was made for the year 1254–5 to the Brethren of the Guild at Westminster, appointed to ring the great bells.† The great bells of Westminster must have been amongst Henry III.'s most famous gifts to the church, for in a marginal drawing of Matthew Paris, in the British Museum copy of his work, appears a rough representation of the new church, the gold shrine, and the four great bells.‡ (Fig. 40.) All these works in progress simultaneously show the energy with which the king pressed forward his scheme. In 1249–50 the Sheriff of Kent was instructed to order all persons having grey stone for sale to carry it to Westminster. And in this year the Pope sent the king an indulgence in favour of any who should lend a helping hand towards the church "of wonderful beauty" being built by him.§

* Close Rolls, 34 & 37 Henry III. † Issue Roll.

‡ See also Stow's account. § "Papal Letters," Rolls Series.

The next year the king issued a command that the Sacristy should be built 120 feet long. A large Sacristy was certainly required for the vast treasure which Matthew of Westminster says was unequalled on this side of the Alps.* Can this Sacristy be represented by foundations discovered on the north side of the choir? (Fig. 66.)

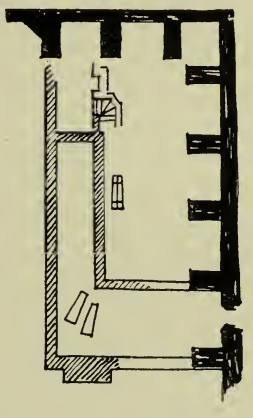

Fig. 66.—Foundations on the north side of the Choir

In this same year (1250–51), the king commanded that 600 or 800 men should work at the church, and in the next year a mandate was addressed to "Henry, Master of the Works," to expedite the marble-work.†

In 1252–3 the king ordered that timber should be obtained for the roof of the new work of the church, and for the stalls of the monks in the same; also that a chapel should be made for the new work of the shrine of St. Edward, the walls to be of plaster of Paris painted with the history of St. Edward, and with a lower chamber which was to have the history of St. Eustace painted on it, and, in the gable window, the story of Solomon and Marculph. This chapel, together with the workshop where the Confessor's new golden shrine

* In the Flete MS., the Galilee of the Sacristy, called the Cellarium, is mentioned in the "Life of Crokesley." In 1251 the King gave by charter to the Convent and the Sacristy the houses, with the wall of the graveyard on the north, which should not be alienated from the Sacristy.

† Close Rolls, 34–36 Henry III.

was being made, was probably in the palace, as when, in 1269, the church was dedicated we are told that the shrine was brought from the palace on the shoulders of the king, his brother and others. We hear in the year 1307 of a Marculph's chamber in the palace.

The Fabric Roll, edited by Willis in Scott's "Gleanings," gives minute particulars of all that was going on week by week in 1253.* The account for each week begins with the wages paid; for instance, in a single week we have: To wages of 39 cutters of white stone, 15 marblers, 26 stone-layers, 32 carpenters, John and his partner at St. Alban's (two painters), with an assistant, 13 polishers (of marble), 19 smiths, 14 glaziers, and 4 plumbers, together £15 10s. 1d., an average of 1s. 10d. a week to each workman. To wages of 176 inferior workmen, with overseers and clerks, and two horse-carts, £9 17s. 2d., about 9d. a week.

The name of Master Henry may be represented on this Roll in the short heading which begins the account of disbursements—*Emptiones Henr' Fab'*—that is, I suppose, disbursements paid out by Master Henry on account of the fabric.† The name of a Master Henry also occurs in connection with the glass issued for the making of the windows. Willis thought that this Henry was the glazier, but there is no other evidence of this, and we do hear

* The original is at the Record Office. Works Q.R. 467, 1.

† The only other meaning I can imagine is that Henr. Fab. means Henry the smith. If Henry, the mason, were dead, Master Henry, the smith, may have been the senior at the works. In this case Master John of Oxford, mentioned below, *may* now have been the mason.

of Lawrence, the glazier. It seems likely that the glass was handed out from the store to the master of the works. Master Alberic is mentioned three times in this Roll, and he was paid considerable sums for "form pieces," that is, tracery for the windows, and other wrought stone work; and it is noted on the back of the Roll that at a certain time he had begun three windows "by task." In the shorter Roll of this year mentioned above his name appears also, and he is there said to have been engaged on the entrance to the Chapter House. It seems that we may definitely assign the bays of the cloister leading to the Chapter House, and the entrance of the latter to Master Alberic.*

Bernard de Scā Osida was paid 14s. 8d. for 588 ft. of asselars (squared stones) by task. The price, confirmed by other instances, being 40 ft. for a shilling, and it follows that a mason receiving wages of 1s. 6d. to 2s. wrought from 60 to 80 ft. in a week. This, of course, was axe-faced work, such as we may see in the interior of St. Faith's Chapel, where we can trace the notches and size of the tool used. Henry de Chersaltoun was paid 26d. for 650 ft. of chalk in the vault fillings (pendentia) wrought by task; and Ade de Aldewyche and companions received 14s.8d. for 5500 ft. of the same. John Benet was paid 3s. for three capitals, and Master William de Waz received 15s. 6d. for setting stone. Besides these

* We have seen that the system of task-work was largely made use of, and Master Alberic seems to have been engaged in the execution of such work from the beginning.

the names occur of Henry the smith, Jacob the junctor (joiner), Roger and William the plumbers, Lawrence the glazier, and many others.

In this year, in one week, as many as seventy-eight white-stone cutters, and forty-nine marblers, with fifteen polishers and fourteen setters were engaged. The large number of marble workers and polishers bring home to us how that the church was largely built of marble; the shafts, mouldings, and even some of the carving being highly polished. In this long Roll of 1253 are some letters to John of Oxford from Robert de Bremele at the marble quarry. I cannot decide whether John was a clerk or a foreman. In the palace accounts for 1259 the name of John of Oxford, mason, occurs, but he was only receiving ordinary wages.

From this time Master Henry disappears from the accounts, and he was almost directly, as will be shown, succeeded by another master. In looking back over the references which I have given, we seem to be justified in saying that he must have been in charge of the work from its beginning until about the end of 1253. At this time the work was so far advanced that Master Henry must be considered as the architect of the building in all its parts. It cannot be doubted that he, like his successors, held the official position of Cementarius Regis, king's mason.*

* In an account of work at Winchester Castle, in 1258, a Master Henry, Cementarius, is mentioned; but he is not necessarily the same.

The Work of Master John of Gloucester, King's Mason, 1254–62.

In 1254–5 John of Gloucester was promised ten "librates" of land for his services to the king at Gloucester, Woodstock, Westminster, and elsewhere, and in the same year the king conceded to "Master John of Gloucester, his mason," (cementario suo) all tolls and tallage for life. That he was actually in charge of works at Westminster is shown by a mandate in which John, the king's mason, is commanded to roof the great sacristy (sacẽstarie) house as soon as possible lest the timbers should be damaged. Permission at the same time was given to the keepers of the works to take oaks from the king's woods.*

John probably came from Gloucester to Westminster, as, in the Close Roll for 1249–50, there is the record of an order to the Sheriff of Gloucester not to distrain John le Macun and others for wine bought of the king.

In 1255–6 our mason lent to the Dean of St. Martin's le Grand some freestone for the works there out of the stores of Westminster.† In the same year he was commanded to see to some defects at the Tower. And there was an important mandate issued to Edward of Westminster and Master John of Gloucester, Cementarius Regis, that the timber of the roof of St. Mary's Chapel (that is, the old Lady Chapel begun in 1220) "which is to be taken down and rebuilt in stone," be given to St. Martin's. In this year, also, five casks of wine were to have been returned to John of Gloucester,

* Close Roll.

† Close Roll, 40 Henry III.

mason, for the five which the king took at Oxford. We have seen that John had been engaged at Woodstock, and the record gives us a fascinating glimpse of the king drinking the mason's wine, which we may suppose was good.

Alexander, the king's carpenter, received in this year twenty marks for the work at Westminster, and in the year following, 1256–7, it was provided that the king's works should be overlooked and expedited by John, the king's mason, and Alexander, the king's carpenter, instead of by the sheriffs and bailiffs. At this time John and Alexander received furred robes of office twice a year. Odo, the carpenter, and others also received furred robes.*

A Pipe Roll, also of 1256–7, records a payment "for marble bought for the church by the view and testimony of Master John, mason, and Master Alexander, carpenter, keepers of the work."† The entry occurs under Dorset. The marble was, of course, Purbeck, and in an account, ten years later, it is called "Purbik."

John, the king's mason, and Alexander, the king's carpenter, are mentioned in the Close Roll of 1257–9, as working at the church. So, also, was William de Wantz, Cementarius, who received a robe. This last must be the same as the William de Waz named in the Fabric Roll of 1253. He was probably master of the stone-layers. At this time (1258) the keepers of the works are commanded to deliver the remainder of the tiles of the Chapter House to the Proctor of the Chapel of St. Dunstan

* Sharpe's MS. Calendar of Close Rolls.

† "Gleanings," p. 261.

underneath the Dormitory. This entry fixes the date of the beautiful tiles of the Chapter House, and its general completion ; and, moreover, furnishes us with the earliest known reference to this chapel. In this year also, the important command is recorded in the Close Roll that Edward and the Superior, and the Sacrist of the church, should "take down the old church as far as the vestry which is by the king's seat (vestiariū quod est juxta sedem Rs.) so that it may be rebuilt as the work begun requires." Work on the altars in various parts of the new fabric is also ordered. Both these entries imply the substantial completion of the first work, and the beginning of the bays to the west of the crossing, which have always been recognised as of slightly later date than the eastern limb and transepts, but which were always assigned to the time of Edward I., until Mr. Micklethwaite, arguing from internal evidence, assigned them to an earlier date.

In the Close Roll of the same year is a mandate to Master John of Gloucester, king's mason, and one of the keepers of the work, that five images of kings cut in freestone, and a stone to support an image of the Virgin, be given to the keepers of the works of St. Martin's, London.*

It appears from the report of the Historic MSS. Commission (iv. p. 176) that this last is a duplicate of one of eleven orders addressed by the king to John of Gloucester, Edward of Westminster, and Robert of Beverley, "our masons and wardens of

* It is evident from these frequent references that St. Martin's le Grand was largely rebuilt by Henry III. at this time.

our works," in the years 1258–61, still preserved at the Abbey. Amongst the other documents mentioned in the report is a letter from the Sheriff of Lincoln regarding lead for the church, and addressed to "Master John le Mazun." Another is a letter from Richard le Wyte of Purbeck to Master Robert of Beverley. An order of 1259, addressed to Master John, Cementarius Regis, instructs him to have prepared the king's iron lectern for Master William to paint. This is William, monk of Westminster, spoken of on another occasion as the king's beloved painter.

The king, of course, consulted his master mason and master carpenter, officers of his household as they were, on most of the royal works going forward in the country; and some of them would be "designed" by this ideal "firm of architects." In 1256–7 "the gateway with a chimney" and other works at Guildford Castle were wrought "by the view and counsel of Master John of Gloucester, our mason, and Master Alexander, our carpenter." A large part of this gateway still stands in Quarry Street, Guildford, and at the back we may still see part of the thirteenth-century fireplace ordered by Henry III. An order was issued in 1258-9 that the new chapel at Woodstock should be paved by the advice of Master John of Gloucester, king's mason.*

In 1260–1 an order was issued that the wages of John of Gloucester, the king's mason, and Alexander, the king's carpenter, should be doubled

* Liberate Rolls. See Hudson Turner's "Domestic Arch.," vol. i. ch. 5.

when travelling to make provision for the church. Also that the iron lectern should be put together and erected in the new Chapter House.* In this year, also, £410 were delivered to John, the king's mason, in respect of the works at Windsor.

We are even able to get some glimpses of the private life of John the mason. He is mentioned once in 1256–7 in conjunction with some property in Southwark.† In the same year our Master John of Gloucester, mason, had premises consisting of a house and curtilage in Westminster; and four little documents at the Record Office refer to this.‡

In 1258 the king rewarded Master John with gifts of houses for his praiseworthy services.

In 1260–1 the great mason died. In the same year "Alice, who was wife of John of Gloucester, king's mason," and Edward, his son, are mentioned, and as late as 1266 the latter is still called "son of the mason."§

There are many variations in detail between the second work of Henry III., begun in 1258, and the portion further east. The choir piers have eight shafts instead of four; the high vault has intermediate ribs—an early instance—and in the spandrels of the wall-arcade of the aisles are set very beautiful shields of arms of some of Henry's royal contemporaries, and others of the great barons of the kingdom. Amongst them is that of Simon de Montfort. In the variations from the earlier portion we may trace the influence of John of

* Close Rolls, 45 Henry III. † F. Lewis. Surrey Feet of Fines.
‡ Feet of Fines, London and Middlesex, Henry III., Nos. 377–80.
§ C. Roberts. Feet of Fines.

Gloucester, for this must be reckoned as his work.

Master Robert de Beverley's Work, 1262–1280.

While John of Gloucester and Alexander, the carpenter, were conducting the works at the church they also overlooked building operations at the neighbouring palace. There are two Rolls of their accounts belonging to the year 1259.* In the second of these we find amongst the names of the masons working under John at the palace the name of Robert de Beverley, the mason who was to succeed him and carry Henry the Third's work at the Abbey to its close. In a printed Issue Roll of this time (1259) particulars are set out of certain "petty works" at the palace, like "cutting away for altering the king's chimney." Robert de Beverley was receiving 3s. a week in regard to these works, while ordinary cutters and bedders received 2s. 2d. One of these was named after his "Fairwife."

Before considering the mastership of Robert of Beverley at the church, we may inquire what remained to be done on the death of John of Gloucester. We have seen that the structure of the Chapter House was complete in 1253, and that it was entirely finished, and floored, and the lectern set up before 1260. The belfry was finished and the bells ringing by 1254. When the Roll of 1253 opens thirty-two carpenters are shown as being employed, and we have seen that an order for timber for the roof of the church was given in

* 467, 2 and 3.

that year, and that the stalls were being made for the choir. It cannot be doubted that the masonry of the first work—the eastern limb, transepts, and crossing—was substantially complete when in 1255–6 the roof of the old Lady Chapel was removed so that it might be vaulted in stone. When, three years later, the monks were ordered to throw down the old work as far as the king's seat (that is, his temporary seat in the Norman nave) it is probable that considerable preparations had already been made for the westward extension ; indeed, little can have remained for Robert de Beverley to do but to finish the scheme of Master Henry and the preparations of Master John.

Considering the troubles the king was passing through at this time the works must have suffered some delay. In 1263 Master Robert de Beverley, the king's mason, and Master Odo, the carpenter, were engaged in repairing the palace after a fire.* Accounts for works at the church from 48 to 51 Henry III. are contained in the Pipe Rolls. Master Robert of Beverley, Alexander the Carpenter, and John of Spalding, were the keepers of the works. Great timber for making the columns at the monks' stalls is mentioned ; also tiles for the lodges of the workmen (*ad domos operiār*). The Pipe Roll for 1267–8 opens with the statement that the accounts are guaranteed by Master Robert de Beverley, mason, and Brother Ralph the Convert (some Jew clerk) put in the place of Alexander, the carpenter, and John of Spalding (also a clerk ?), by the king's writ directed to Adam de Stratton,

* "Gage Rokewode," p. 5.

clerk, warden of the said works.* This entry may have been occasioned by the death of Alexander, the carpenter, to whom I have found no further reference. The name of Alexander, the carpenter, occurs in 1260–1 in connection with property at Knightsbridge, where we may suppose he had his timber-yard.† The roof wrought by him still exists at the church. Wren spoke of it as "framed in the bad Norman manner," that is, every rafter is braced with raking pieces and there were no trusses with tie beams.

Other accounts for works at the church exist for the years 1269-70, 1270–71, and 1271–72, the last being made up to November before the king was buried, by Master Robert de Beverley, mason, and by view of Adam de Stratton, clerk of the Exchequer. This account includes some glazing and paving, painting, and a clock made by task-work. There was painting going forward continuously from 1267. The account of 1269 mentions painting of the figures in the church and in the great chamber of the king. The windows, however, were not fully glazed, as canvas had been bought to fill them. Adam de Stratton, the clerk to the works, speculated in finance and honesty, prospered, and fell.‡

The choir was evidently almost completed before the translation of the Confessor's body into the new shrine in 1269. In the Close Roll for that year

* "Gleanings," p. 253. † Hardy and Page. Feet of Fines.

‡ See Red Book of the Exchequer. A nearly complete list of the clerks of the accounts at Westminster could easily be made from the Calendars of Works Accounts.

there is a letter inviting Llewellyn of Wales to the Feast of the Translation of St. Edward in "the new church of Westminster." And we know that by this time even the mosaic floor of the presbytery had been laid down.

On October 13, 1269, the anniversary of the first translation of the Confessor, he was enshrined in the marvellous, but still incomplete, feretory of gold, silver, and precious stones, beneath the new structure which the king, at his own cost, had built from the foundation, and in the presence of a great concourse of prelates, barons, and commoners. On this day the monks first celebrated the mysteries within the new building.*

At the Record Office there are two small accounts rendered by Robert de Beverley for works at Westminster after the burial of Henry III. (November 1272). They refer to the wages of several workmen engaged on the tomb of Lord John of Windsor, son of Edward I., and include the wages of Master Robert de Beverley and his companion.† In 1272–3 "Master Robert of Beverley, the king's mason," received a payment in respect of a grant of 6d. a day, which he was to have for life by command of Henry III.‡

In the Pipe Roll for 2 Edward I. Master Robert's account appears for divers works at the palace and

* Wykes, and "Chronicles of the Reigns of Edwards I. and II." Rolls Series. After the death of Henry III. no accounts are known which refer to important structural work at the church for two generations.

† Works, Q.R. 471, 5 and 8.

‡ Issue Roll. In the patents for 56 Henry III. I find Master R. de Beverley appointed king's carpenter (?) and principal viewer (*visor*) of works.

church preparatory to the Coronation of Edward in the new church on August 19, 1274. The stage, set up in the choir for the king and queen is mentioned, also an "alley" made from the Little Hall to the church, along which the king and queen marched. The choir of the church was covered with a temporary wooden floor, and "the new tower above the choir" was covered with boards. The central lantern, which seems to have been temporarily roofed for the occasion, was never, as has been said, carried forward to completion. That Robert was regularly engaged at the Abbey is made plain by an entry in the Book of Customs of Abbot Ware. Here, amongst those named as receiving a provision of wine from the convent, are three of "special grace"—the goldsmith, Master R. de Fremlingham (the Abbey plumber ?), and Master R. de Beverley.

In 1274–5 Master Robert, the mason, was keeper of the works at the Tower, and in the next year we find him mentioned in the Patent Rolls (4 Edward I.) as being paid for 300 lbs. of wax to make an image for the king, and 66s. 8d. for making the said image. (Was this a temporary wax effigy of Henry III. ?) In the Close Rolls for 1275 is an order that he should have 12d. a day when staying in London and 16d. when journeying. Again we find the king making him a gift of a tun of wine.

In 1276 a Robert de Beverley and his wife Cecilia were interested in the transfer of some property at Pirford, and as this was a manor belonging to Westminster there can be little doubt

that this refers to our mason.* In the same year Master Robert, called keeper of the king's works, was paid for materials required at the king's Mews at Charing; and several Rolls at the Record Office are accounts of works at the palace up to 1278–9, guaranteed by Master Robert.†

During these first years of Edward's reign the great work in hand was the completion of the Tower of London. In 1276 1000 marks was issued towards completing the works, and in 1277 2000 marks. Doubtless much of the enclosure of the outer ward with its towers is the work of Master Robert de Beverley. In 1278 he with Brother John, of the Order of St. Thomas of Acre, masters of the king's works at the Tower, Westminster, and the king's Mews, were instructed to audit the accounts of Giles de Audenard, the king's clerk. In January of this year the king issued a mandamus for an inquisition to be held "before Giles de Audenard, Master Robert de Beverley, and the Aldermen of the City," as to whether any damage would arise if a part of the city wall near Ludgate was pulled down, and a new strong wall was built by Fleet Ditch. This was done to provide room for the church and buildings of the Blackfriars, and it seems probable that, as the king and queen were chief benefactors to this church, Robert, the most famous master of his time, may have sat at the inquiry as architect to the new Friary, and that the beautiful fragment of these buildings, found and destroyed in 1900, may have been his work. It seems probable, too,

* F Lewis. Surrey Fines. † Works, Q.R. 472, 6 A, B, E, &c.

that he may have furnished the plan for Hayles Abbey, built by Henry III.'s brother in 1271. It was a copy of Westminster.

I find our master mentioned again in 1279 and then no more.* Some works at the church must have been going on during the whole time of his mastership.

Fig. 67.—Head of a Lay Master, high up in N. Transept

I have not found Master Odo, the carpenter, mentioned after 1262–3, when he was engaged on works at the palace after the fire, and the keeper of the Tower was ordered to deliver to Odo, the king's carpenter, the engine called "Truye," to raise timber.† In 1273 the name of Master John Hurley occurs in the royal accounts (472, 6 A). He must have been a member, as we shall see, of one of the greatest families of carpenters of the Middle Ages.

I trace back a statement as to the completion, in 1285, of "the work so far as the choir extends" through Wren and Stow, to Fabian, who may have followed a tradition at the church. Possibly some works, like glazing and fittings, were not completed until this time. Indeed, in 1290, John of Bristol, the king's glazier, was paid £64 for making windows in the church of Westminster.

* Close Rolls, Edward I.

† He must at this time have put the wood ceiling to the Painted Chamber. The Chronicles are clear as to its having been burnt in 1262. (See "Lib. Antiq. Legibus and French Chronicle of London.")

Widmore (Appendix VI.), long ago, quoted a record that the total cost of the works up to 1260–1 was nearly £30,000. (See also Historic MSS. Report, IV.) This sum gives an average of about £2000 a year, and we have seen that this was about the rate of expenditure for the first eight years. In 1254 a precept was issued that 3000 marks (£2000) should be paid yearly from the Exchequer,* and in the Issue Roll for the year 1256–7 I find exactly this sum, 3000 marks, issued as annual grant to the keepers of the work to be paid half-yearly. This, then, was the annual rate of expenditure for the first fifteen years, during which, as has been shown, the great body of work was done. After that the works may have been stopped for a time, and the yearly expenditure was probably less, —although in 1267 and 1268 it was still large. We may perhaps fairly estimate that the whole work of Henry III. must have cost about £50,000, including the shrine and altar. About a year before the return of 1260–1 was made, the King must have become frightened—it is an old story—at the costs, for he ordered that it should be "distinctly stated whether the repair of the King's houses was included in the sum of £28,127." Of course it was not!

* Widmore.

CHAPTER VIII

LATER KING'S MASONS

Master Richard Crundale: Master Michael of Canterbury: Master Richard of Witham: Master Walter of Canterbury: Master Thomas of Canterbury: Master William Ramsay, and others.

ROBERT DE BEVERLEY was succeeded, possibly at once, by Richard Crundale or Crundel. From 1288 extensive works were going forward in the palace, and two MS. Rolls of this time* were guaranteed by Master Richard Crundale, mason (cementarius), and Master Robert de Colebrook, carpenter. In the second of these, a Master John of Ledes, mason, and Master Walter, the painter, are mentioned. In 1290 Masters Richard and Robert were still engaged on similar work, both being in receipt of weekly wages. A Roger and Thomas de Crundale are also mentioned, as well as Master W. le Wythe and Richard de Witham, all masons.† I find Master Richard first mentioned in 1281, when he served on a jury in the City, as also did Hugh de Canterbury, *Lathomus* (mason), and Walter le Marbler.‡ This shows that our master was a citizen of London.

Master Richard Crundale, King's Mason.

Queen Alianor died in 1290, and we know from

* 467, 16 and 17.

† 468, 1 and 2. About this time some repairs at Tower Royal in the City, to fit it for the queen's wardrobe, were done by Master Radulphus, carpenter. Wardrobe Accounts, British Museum.

‡ Dr. Sharpe's Letter Book B.

the full accounts* for the building of her three tombs and the several crosses erected to her memory, that Richard Crundale had charge of the most important cross, and also of the exquisite tomb in the Abbey. From the general resemblance of all the crosses it seems likely that we owe the scheme of all of them to him, as chief king's mason. The only authentic representations of the Queen's Cross at Charing, and that on a very small scale, are on Van den Wyngaerde's View of London, and on the so-called Aggas Map. They are, however,

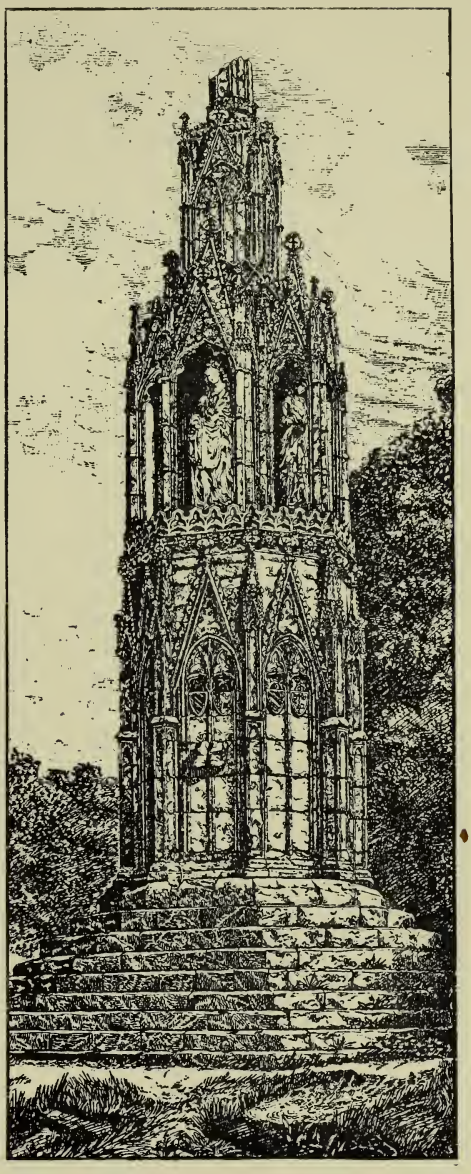

Fig. 68.—The Queen's Cross, Northampton. Drawn by Mr. R. Webster

* Hudson Turner, "Roxburghe Club" and *Archælogia*, xxix. Original in Wardrobe Rolls at the Record Office.

enough to show that it closely resembled the crosses at Waltham and Northampton, but it must have been much larger, as £300 was spent on it as compared to £95 for the Waltham Cross.

In the Crowle Collection there is a drawing of Charing Cross, which belonged to Dr. Combes, and is referred to by Pennant and engraved by Wilkinson, but its authority seems somewhat doubtful. The Cross stood, till 1647, in the triangular space where the statue of Charles II. now is, and formed a beautiful outpost of the palace quarter.

> ". . . They wander about the towne,
> Nor can find the way to Westminster
> Now Charing Cross is downe.
> . . . The Parliament to vote it down
> Conceived it very fitting
> For fear it should fall and kill them all
> In the house as they were sitting.
> They were told, God wot,
> It had a plot." *

The vote was in 1643, but the Cross was not entirely destroyed until a few years later.

The best description I can find of the Cross by one whose eyes had seen it is this by John Norden :† "An old weather-beaten monument erected about 1290 by Edward I. Amongst all the crosses which the king caused to be built at the places where the queen's body rested, as she was brought from Harby beside Lincoln, Charing Cross was the most stately, though now defaced by antiquity. Here he caused her picture to be shaped in stone together with his own and her own arms."

* Contemporary Poem in Percy Reliques.

† MS. Harl. 570 (*c.* 1600).

MASTER RICHARD CRUNDALE

The Crundales came, I suppose, from the village of that name between Winchelsea and Ashford. In the long lists of ordinary masons given in the Rolls at this time Kentish names predominate, and a Kentish school of masonry seems to have been in the ascendant. The church in the king's town of Winchelsea is a typical example of early Edwardian architecture as practised by R. Crundale, and may quite possibly be his work.

The queen's tomb in the Abbey is of Purbeck marble, fitted together in slabs; it is, in fact, a carved chest of marble. The surface of it is now rapidly perishing. A cast at the Crystal Palace, taken about fifty years ago, is some record of the forms of the decoration of one compartment. In the original the beautiful shields of arms are suspended to the branches of trees—oak, vine, maple, thorn, and one with blossoms. Less than a century since some of the gilding remained on its mouldings.* A wooden tester was the work of Master Thomas de Hokyntone; the ironwork was wrought by Master Thomas de Leighton; the image was cast by Master William Torel; the basement was painted by Master Walter of Durham.

The accounts for the tombs and crosses show that Richard Crundale died about 1294, while Charing Cross was still incomplete; his brother Roger finished the work. Its statues were sculptured by Alexander of Abingdon, "le imaginator," who also wrought those which still exist about the Waltham Cross, which, itself, was the work of Nicholas Dyminge de Reyns,

* In the Cottingham Collection there was a cast of one of the panels. It may be this from which the Crystal Palace cast was made up.

assisted by Roger Crundale. This once exquisite work of art has been entirely renewed with the exception of the images and the lower storey. It was first restored in 1833, and fifty years later the work was re-renewed. Early representations of it may be found in Vertue's engraving about 1730, and in Farmer's "History of Waltham," 1740. There is a beautiful water-colour drawing of it a century old at South Kensington. These early views show a large portion remaining of the original stalk which once carried the cross proper. This rose with almost vertical sides, and it shows that the first idea of all these structures must have been that of a tall churchyard cross rising out of a solid basement storey, with open tabernacle work containing the images and forming the second stage, surrounding the lower part of the stalk which ran down as a solid core behind the statues. The composition was thus quite different from the sort of model spire Waltham Cross has been made into. The original idea is still obvious at the Geddington Cross, and, by comparing other later crosses at Winchester and elsewhere, and the engraving of a most romantic cross once at Gloucester, we may be sure that this was

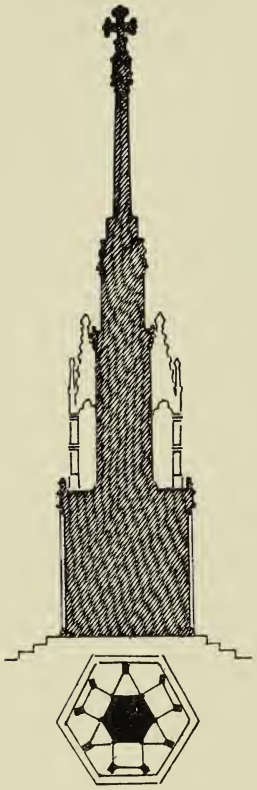

Fig. 69. — Diagram showing constructive idea of Waltham Cross

the general principle to which they all conformed.*

The Northampton cross was built by John de Bello, or de la Bataille (Battle, Sussex), and John Pabeham†, at a cost of £134 without the statues, which were cut by William de Hibernia, who received five marks (£3 6s. 8d.) for each, a sum which we may compare with that paid for the statues at Westminster mentioned on p. 155. The other crosses, now destroyed, were also wrought by these masons, whose names we shall meet again in the royal accounts. It seems probable that the whole of the crosses were built by men of the Westminster School, except that at Lincoln, which was by Richard de Stow, who was probably the same Stow who built the central tower of the cathedral from 1307. This "Queen's Cross" stood about a mile out of the City on the London road.

John de la Bataille is possibly the John of Ledes mentioned above, as, later, we shall meet a Master Thomas de la Bataille of Ledes (in Kent). A John de Bataille died in 1300, leaving shops in Newgate Street and houses at St. Albans,‡ where once stood, in the Market Place, an Alianor Cross, which was destroyed in 1702.

* See Parker's "Gloss.," vol. iii.; "Crosses," Figs. 4, 5, 6.

† ? Pabenham.

‡ Sharpe's "Calendar of Wills."

Master Michael of Canterbury, King's Mason.

A second Alianor Cross in London was built in Cheapside, at the bottom of Wood Street, by Michael of Canterbury. This cross was entirely rebuilt in the late mediæval period, but fragments of it, including some of the coats-of-arms, were found twenty or thirty years ago, and are now in the Guildhall Museum. These fragments are exactly like similar parts of the other crosses.

In 1292 the king's new chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster was refounded.* Master Michael of Canterbury was engaged on this work, concurrently with that of the Cheapside Cross. "Accounts of the expenses of the foundation of the Chapel of St. Stephen" are given under the hands of John Convers, the clerk, and Master Michael of Canterbury, Cementarius. This is a big bundle of accounts, and as a large number of workmen are mentioned the work must have been pushed on rapidly. "Master Michael paid for marble-stone," is entered in one place. "Michael, Apparitor," receiving 3s. 6d. a week, heads the weekly accounts. Amongst those named as masons are William de Hoo, William le Blound, Thomas de Crundale, William de Ledes, and another called Pabenham. A John of St. Omer was paid for working three capitals, and Alexander was paid for marble. In the accounts for the Queen's Crosses we learn that William de Hoo wrought the *cista* (?) for the queen's heart, which found a resting-place in the church of the Dominicans at Blackfriars.

* Chronicles Edward I. and Edward II., Rolls Series.

Master Robert de Colebrook seems to have been the carpenter in charge, for in 1294 a precept was issued that Robert de Colebrook, the king's carpenter, should take from the forest of Pamber (Hants) timber "for the king's chapel at Westminster, which the king is now causing to be built." * In the above account the name occurs of another carpenter—Master John Beck. In this Roll a distinction is made between the feast-days of the king and of the masons. A similar arrangement was made when the church was built. Board "*ad moldas*" is mentioned, also "*malectos*" for the "*lathomers*"; † and in one place there is an entry for "timber to make a lodge for Master Michael and his masons." The use of the word lathomer for mason is of some interest, as it is one of the first instances of the use of this word in English accounts which I have seen. In France it is found two generations before, in Italy still earlier, and is ultimately derived from Constantinople. Master Michael, in undertaking the work at St. Stephen's in 1292, must have succeeded Richard Crundale, who died the same year, in the office of king's mason. About this same time certain other works at the palace were under the charge of William le Blound, Cementarius, and Master Robert de Waltham, who certified the accounts.

The undercroft of St. Stephen's Chapel, which still exists, although terribly scraped and garnished, must in the main be the work of Master Michael. The chapel was continued until the great fire of

* Close Roll.

† Is the modern name Latimer derived from Lathomer—mason?

1298 at the palace, after which it does not seem to have been resumed until Edward II. took up the work and completed the lower chapel.* Mackenzie's engravings are sufficient to show that the under chapel—St. Mary in the Vaults—in its present restored state, represents the forms of the old work. As to how much, if any, is truly original, covered up as it is with what they call "decoration," it is impossible to say. The door, with its trellis of carving on a great roll-moulding, and the vaulting ribs with their ribbon ornament, are most strange in English work, and strangely beautiful.

The wonderful tombs, on the north side of the presbytery of the church, of Aveline (d. 1273) and Edmund Crouchback, her husband (d. 1296), resemble one another so closely (some of the decorations are identical), that we must suppose the former to have been delayed long after the death of Aveline. They are both later in style than Queen Alianor's tomb of 1292, and they closely resemble the tomb of Archbishop Peckham at Canterbury. All these three have little statues of weepers around the tomb proper, and are amongst the earliest instances of this practice in England.

We may probably assign the two Abbey tombs to Master Michael. The pinnacles and little statues which adorned the gables were destroyed by the erection of the trumpery stagings put up for some coronation. "Such havoc," says Gough, "does the public use of this venerated pile make of its monuments in modern times." Sandford

* See F. Mackenzie.

and Dart give valuable plates of the earlier state of the tombs. The brackets which rise out of the

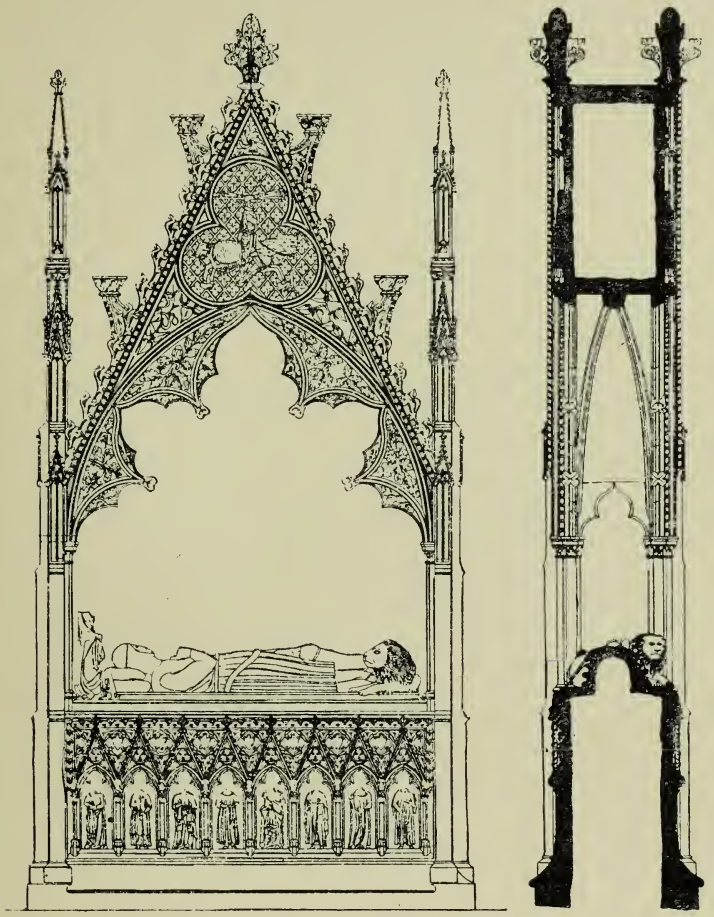

Fig. 70.—Tomb of Aymer de Valence

gables bore little statues of angels who carried candlesticks.* The sculptures and mouldings were all

* See also the drawing of the Islip Roll.

decorated with raised gesso work, inlays of coloured glass, gilding and painting.

The tomb of Aymer de Valence is, again, very similar to that of Edmund Crouchback, but in its sculpture it is the most exquisite of them all; the little figures of weepers are not to be matched in England. The tomb of Aveline, I suppose, was delayed, and it and that of her husband may be dated *c.* 1300. The tomb of Aymer, on the other hand, was, I should think, executed before his death in 1326. Burges, indeed, thought that all three might be the work of one artist.

Master Richard of Wytham.

We have above met with the names of Richard de Wytham, who in 1290 was working under Crundale, and also of John Pabenham, who was the *socius* of the master at the Northampton Cross. In 1298 Master Simon de Pabenham, possibly his son, and Master de Wytham were reconciled at the Guildhall as to certain abusive words which had passed between them, and entered into an agreement before the Mayor and Aldermen that the one guilty of first renewing the quarrel should give 100s. to the fabric of London Bridge.*

Master Simon lived until 1333, in which year his will was proved. It shows that he lived near Holborn, as he directs his tenement and shops in St. Sepulchre's to be sold to pay his debts and legacies; the rest, including other tenements, were to remain the property of Alicia, his wife, and of

* Riley's "Memorials." Masons *were* quarrelsome!

his daughters Alice and Roesia. The church of St. Sepulchre's was to benefit.*

Richard de Wytham, master mason, was in 1300 sworn as a "viewer" † (official mason) over buildings in the City.‡ In 1301 he made oath before the Mayor, with reference to his duties as a mason, not to make "purplasters" § (encroachments) and the like. It is quite clear that both he and Simon de Pabenham were London masons, and we shall find that most of the Westminster masons seem to have had their shops in the City.

In 1307 Master Richard de Wytham, mason, was "assigned by the Treasurer to superintend and direct the works of building, and to be Master at the King's Palace and the Tower" at wages of 7s. a week.||

An account of this date of expenses at the palace, including St. Stephen's and La Blanche Chambre, begins "Magro Rico de Wighthm, Cem.," then follow a large number of masons-cutters (cement. ent.), of whom I will only mention William de Wightham, Roger of Tonebrigg, and Simon de Rammesey.¶ Among the layers. (cem. cubit.) are named William de Pabenham, and Henry de Pabenham, John Brown, Robert de Ledes, Ade and Richard de Radewelle, and Simon le Mazonsone. Among the marblers (marmor.) are

* Sharpe's "Calendar of Wills," vol. i. p. 400.

† At York they were called searchers.

‡ Papworth says that he took up his mastership in this year Probably the same event is referred to. See Appendix on "City Masons."

§ Riley's "Liber Customarum."

|| Britton and Brayley's Palace of Westminster.

¶ British Museum, Add. 30,263.

Nicholas de Corfe and William de White, who may very well be the son of Robert White of Corfe, who wrote about the marble of the Abbey in 1272. Several men engaged in plastering and white-washing are mentioned.*

In 1310 Master Richard de Wightham, mason of London Bridge, was admitted to the freedom of the City and sworn to the Commonalty, and paid half a mark.†

In accounts of 1311–15‡ for works at the Palace and the Tower we find the names of William and Robert de Shere, Thomas de Weldon, and John de Whitewelle, four masons-cutters, cutting free-strone (entalliand francapetr.). Also Richard de Wayte and Matthew de Bruton, Maurice de Tothill (receiving 6d. a day), Henry de Tischemersh, Hugh de St. Alban's, and Richard de Chaundeler (5d.); and John de Radewelle, &c. (3d.). Hugo of Shrewsbury, and others, are called wallers (muratori). Adam de Corfe (marmorarius) was paid for marble; he is probably the Adam, the marbler, who, in 1312, agreed for a new pavement in St. Paul's. In 1331 Adam le Marbler died, leaving a tenement in East Street, Corfe; other houses were left to Hugh Marbler. In a Roll at the Record Office,§ Maurice de Tothull, Richard de Maddelay, William de Carlton, and John Radewelle appear as working on some "archiboutants," and receiving 6d. a day.

In 1315–16 the masons of the City were instructed to elect six paviors, experienced men, to

* Torchiand et dealbat. Compare our torching of tiles.

† Sharpe's Letter Book D.

‡ British Museum Add. 17,361. § Q.R. 468, 20.

repair the pavements of the City. The election was made by Master Michael le Maceoun, Simon de Pabenham, Adam le Marberer, Walter de Dipenhale, Robert Pavy, Hugh de Tichemers, William le Hove, John Child, and others (not named), who chose six paviors (who are named). In this entry we see the masons of the City acting as an organised body, a Guild, and we meet with several of our friends and show them to be London citizens, and the most important masons at that time in London. Robert Pavy lived by Leadenhall ; he died in 1326, and left a shop to his son Walter. From a document of 1317 we find that Adam, the marbler, lived in Farringdon Ward.* Walter, the marbler, in 1326, lived by the Thames, close to St. Magnus' Church ; he died in 1330.

In 1300 Robert Osekyn and John Wrytle, carpenters, were sworn in as official Carpenters of the City. In the accounts of 1307 a large number of carpenters appear engaged under Odo of Wylton (succeeded by R. Osekyn) at the palace, and at the end of the account Master R. Osekyn is called the Master Carpenter. Richard Godfrey and John Reed were the junctors. John Wrytle, carpenter, died in 1305. In the accounts for the years 1311–15 Peter of Canterbury and John le Rooke were the carpenters in charge.

* Letter Book E.

MASTER WALTER OF CANTERBURY

In 1322 we meet with the name of Walter of Canterbury. From two Rolls of 1324–6* relating to the king's works at the Palace and the Tower, it is evident that Master Walter of Canterbury, Cementarius, was the king's mason at this time; he was assisted by Master Thomas of Canterbury, a mason whom we shall meet again. Master Thomas de la Bataille, Cementarius de Ledes (probably the son of the builder of the Northampton Cross) and Reginald de Wihthum, Cementarius, are mentioned in this account, also Walter Sparrow, who may be an ancestor of another mason of this name who worked at Westminster Hall at the end of the century.

Master Walter of Canterbury, King's Mason.

In another account of similar works at the same time† John de Rammeseye, Cementarius, is called apparitor. Thomas of Canterbury, Walter de Crundale, masons, and Wm. of Winchester, carpenter, are mentioned in this Roll. John de Ramsey and his wife Agnes sold premises at Edmonton in 1327.‡

The lower chapel of St. Stephen's was, Mackenzie says, finished from 1320 to 1327. We may assign its completion to Walter of Canterbury.

* Record Office, 469, 5–7.
† 469, 6.
‡ Hardy and Price. Fines.

MASTER THOMAS OF CANTERBURY

In a MS. Roll of 1326* we meet with the names of Master Thomas of Canterbury, Cementarius, and William de Hurley, carpenter. This Roll and another (469–10) endorsed "chapel in the Palace of Westminster, year 19," chiefly refers to a "new *alura*" between the new chapel and the *Camera depicta*. Master Thomas who had charge of the work was paid 3s. a week. One of the items is for robes—Magrū Thom̄. de Cant.' Cement'. pro roba sua XXs. The clerk to the works, Robt. de Pypeshull, also received robes. A William de Ramsey, probably a son of John, was working as a mason. The next Roll (469, 11) is endorsed *Nova Capella* ; it is that which has been abstracted by Britton and Brayley and John T. Smith, and refers to the beautiful upper chapel. It begins—"Monday, 27th day of May, fifth year [of Ed. III., *i.e.*, 1332], Master Thomas of Canterbury coming first to Westminster at the beginning of the new chapel of St. Stephen, and drawing (*intrasura*) on the moulds," 6s. a week. Ordinary masons received 6d. a day. A Roll of about the same date (469, 15) mentions Master Walter de Hurley, keeper of carpentry for the king's works, Master John de Wynton, plumber, and Thomas Broun, cementarius.

Master Thomas of Canterbury, King's Mason.

I think we can trace from whence Master Thomas, the mason, "came to Westminster." In 1332–3 (6 Ed. III.) Master Thomas of Canterbury was paid £6 17s. on account of work at the Guildhall. What were probably allowances for robes

* 468, 3, calendared 19 Edward I. instead of II.

were paid—" to Master William de Hurlee, carpenter, 20s., and to the aforesaid Master Thomas for the same work, 20s." Now the Guildhall appears to have been enlarged in 1326, when a grant of timber and lead was made towards the works of the hall and chapel. The work was completed in 1337.* The western crypt has been thought to belong to this time, but recent examination has convinced me that it is contemporaneous with the hall above, and the eastern crypt, from which it differs only because of its lesser importance.

The upper chapel of St. Stephen's was perhaps the crest of the Gothic movement in England, a work imaginative to fantasy, yet as a whole simple, large, noble. From a wall-bench rose semi-pillars of marble forming the bays. The lower stage was a beautiful wall-arcade containing elaborate paintings of angels ; above was a range of tall windows. The ceiling was almost certainly of wood, possibly something like that of Canterbury Chapter House. The work throughout was painted in the fairest colours, purfled with gilt gesso work, called " prints " in the accounts. Even the black polished marble was spotted over with gilded discs of this work, and other portions of the stone-work were enriched with inlays of coloured glass laid over foils. Both these methods of decoration are to be found in the Ste. Chapelle, which certainly also influenced the general design of our own chapel.

This great work of Master Thomas has been very fully illustrated by Carter, J. T. Smith, and

* Price. " History of Guildhall."

F. Mackenzie.* Mackenzie's suggestion of an upper storey is quite inadmissible. What he makes into a gallery was clearly the parapet gutter and springing for the roof above the main cornice.† The view of the chapel in Van den Wyngaerde's drawing is conclusive as to its having had a flattish roof and no additional storey. This drawing, made about 1560, carries us right back to the time of the suppression of the chapel, which did not take place till the reign of Edward VI. It was then handed over to the House of Commons, probably without any large injury to the structure, for Camden, in some notes on the heraldry, was able to record the arms of England, which "bordured the windows" (MS. Lands. 874). In the British Museum several carved stones and some fragments of the paintings are preserved; there are also some casts in the Architectural Museum. The former show what the brilliancy of the colouring must have been. In 1333 Thomas Bernak of Lambeth supplied worked stones for the windows "by agreement with the Master." These windows seem to have been in the Canterbury style, and Master Thomas in agreeing for them doubtless supplied some of the "moulds" which he had drawn out. The remarkable cresting of the wall-arcade at St. Stephen's bears a close resemblance to similar details at Canterbury. These Canterbury masters had both probably been trained at the cathedral.

* See Carter's "Specimens," the Vetusta Mon., F. Mackenzie, J. T. Smith's "Westminster." See also some drawings in Archer Collection in British Museum.

† See also Britton and Brayley's "Palace."

The name of Richard Lynne appears amongst the setters. The will of Richard de Lynne, mason, of St. Andrew's, Castle Baynard, was proved in 1341.* A Roll of 1337–9 shows that Master William Hurle was carpenter, Master Walter Bury, smith, Master Richard Canterbury and Thomas Atte-Wyche, plumbers. Richard Canon, of Corfe, was paid for marble, and William Canon worked at the chapel. We know all about these Canons of Corfe from the Exeter Cathedral accounts. In 1332 William Canon was paid for a large quantity of wrought marble supplied for the cathedral by his father and himself. In 1352 Master Edward Canon, master stone-cutter, working on the stalls of St. Stephen's Chapel, was paid the large wage of 1s. 6d. a day.

Our mason, Thomas of Canterbury, in 1335, became guardian for the children of John de Wyncestre, whose will was proved in this year.† From the Roll 469, 15, we find that this Master John de Wynton was, from 1331, working with Thomas of Canterbury at the palace, where he was in charge of the plumbing.

William Ramsey, King's Mason.

We saw that a John Ramsey was working at the Palace in 1322, and a William Ramsay in 1326. The latter was master mason of the new Chapter House at St. Paul's, in which he showed himself one of the most advanced masters of the time. In 1332 the Dean and Chapter gave up their garden on the south side of the Nave to

* Sharpe's "Calendar of Wills." † *Ibid.*

build a Chapter House and Cloister.* Now in this very year it was ordered by the Mayor and Aldermen of London that "Master William de Ramseye, mason, who is master of the new works at St. Paul's, and is especially and assiduously giving his whole attention to the business of the said church, shall not be placed on juries or inquests."†

A portion of this work, uncovered some years ago, is quite sufficient to show how delicate it was, and we can well understand why Ramsey should have been invited to complete St. Stephen's Chapel, which so much resembles it in style. ‡

In 1336 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the state of repair of the Tower.§ Amongst the names of the chief London carpenters, masons, plumbers, glaziers, &c., who served on it, appear those of the masons Peter de Tytemerssche, William de Rameseye, Reginald de Wytham, and Robert de Dippenhall.

In 1337 "William de Ramesey, king's mason," was appointed chief mason at the Tower, and chief surveyor of all the king's works, as well in those pertaining to the said office of mason as in those in all castles on this side Trent, and also in all things in the Tower. Master William de Hurle was appointed in like manner to the office of carpenter, and Master Walter le Fevre to the office of smith. A week or two later, when these appointments were confirmed, each in turn is called "chief surveyor" for his own art, and each was to

* Calendar St. Paul's Doc. † Riley's "Memorials."

‡ His name and that of Agnes, his daughter, appear on a deed at St. Paul's (Calendar). § Bayley's "Tower." Appendix I.

"receive in his office a robe as befits his estate," yearly, and 12*d.* daily for his wages from the Exchequer.*

In the next year a Westminster Roll,† endorsed "Capella de Westmon̄. anno. XI. [Ed. III.], shows that the work at St. Stephen's was under the ordination of "Master William de Ramsey, Master Cementarius to the king." In 1344 Nicholas de Abyngdon, Cementarius, and John de Ramsey, Cementarius, are called apparitors for the work at St. Stephen's and received 3*s.* 6*d.* weekly [470, 13].‡ About five years later John Ramsey or "Johnle Mason" died. His will, proved in 1349, devises to his wife Juliana and his brother Nicholas some tenements in St. Michael's, Cornhill; Master William Ramsey, his brother, is mentioned.§ Nicholas de Rameseye supplied three mouncells of plaster of Paris for repairs at the palace in 1348, and thus appears to have been a plasterer. John Rameseye, marbler, mentioned in 1376, was probably of the same family.‖

In 1344 commissions were issued to William de Hurle, king's carpenter, and William de Rameseye, the king's mason, to select workmen for Windsor.¶

The first existing list of the Common Council in London is of the year 1347. In it Aldersgate

* Calendar of Patent Rolls, 10 Edward III.

† Record Office, 470, 2.

‡ William Wayte and Robert Winchester were working at the chapel at this time.

§ Sharpe's "Calendar of Wills."

‖ Riley's "Memorials."

¶ Rymer, Feb. 26. A vault to a gate-tower at Windsor with lions' heads in the bosses is so like that to the so-called Bloody Tower at London that both must be the work of one mason, possibly Ramsey.

Ward is represented by William de Rameseye.* Mr. Common Councillor Ramsey is the only mason I know who attained official dignity. In 1348 he bought property at Enfield.†

Our mason was, in the year 1332, a party to a city romance. Robert Huberd, aged 14, a ward of the city, and well-off, was by him and others forcibly removed from the charge of his proper guardian. On November 20 Master William de Ramsey, junior, Christina, his wife, Thomas de Chacombe, Master William de Ramsey, senior, and Nicholas de Ramsey went to the house of John Spray, the guardian, Without Aldersgate, and abducted the said Robert, and caused him to be married to Agnes, a daughter of William de Ramsey, junior, in contempt of the mayor. William, Christina, and Thomas were "attached," but the others were not found. And the said William, Christina, and Thomas pleaded not guilty, and, as to the marriage, they put themselves on the county. Inasmuch as the marriage could not be annulled it was adjudged that Robert should choose whether he would remain with William de Ramsey, whose daughter he had married, or return to John Spray. He thereupon chose to remain with the said William and his wife, and John Spray prayed to be discharged from the guardianship. But William de Ramsey produced sureties for the proper performance of his duties as guardian. This high-handed proceeding did not, as we have seen, interfere with our mason's distinguished career. And this bold way of dealing

* Riley's "Memorials." † Hardy and Page. Fines.

with affairs seems to fill out our conception of what a mediæval craftsman should be.

Masters William Hurle and William Herland, King's Carpenters.

William de Ramsey was, in 1350, still "master of masons' work at the king's chapel," William Hurle was the master carpenter, and William Herland, another of the carpenters, received 3*s.* 6*d.* weekly wages.*

In the accounts for St. Stephen's in 1352, Master William Hurle, carpenter, is seen to have been working on the stalls at 1s. a day. Master William Herland, carpenter, accounts in this year for £10 spent in making the stalls. He is called carpenter to the king, and guarantees the accounts; he was receiving 4*s.* 8*d.* weekly, Master Hurle 4*s.*, and Richard Walton, foreman, 3*s.* 6*d.*†

Both the chief carpenters were engaged also on the large building works carried on at Windsor under Edward III. In 1344 William Hurle, the king's master carpenter, and William Ramsey, the king's master mason, were commissioned to procure workmen for Windsor.‡ Continuing the work then begun, William de Hurle and William de Hurland, the carpenters, were in 1350 in charge, William Sponlee being master of the stone hewers. In 1358–9 Geoffrey de Carlton was keeper of all the masons' work at wages of 6*d.* a day.§ Geoffrey

* Record Office, 470, 18, 19.

† Rolls, 471, 5 and 6, largely printed by J. T. Smith. ‡ Rymer.

§ Tighe and Davis. In 1359 William Holland, John Berholte, and John Havering were commissioned to obtain carpenters for work at

may be a son of William Carlton who was working at Westminster forty-five years before. In 1378 Geoffrey de Carlton was confirmed in the office of Cementarius to the king at Windsor Castle, with 6*d.* daily wages and 20*s.* yearly for robe and shoes. Carlton was mason at Windsor while Wykeham acted as "surveyor" for the king. Wykeham had been appointed, with power to press masons, in 1356. Chaucer became clerk to the works with similar powers in 1389. They both represented the clerkly side of the building. Wykeham was no more the architect at Windsor than he was at Winchester, where Master Wynford was master mason.

Sandwich ; and similar orders were given to three masons. (Rymer.) John Havering is mentioned again in 1371 ; also John Massingham and Thomas Tilney. The latter was granted a yearly pension for good services rendered to the king. (Issue Roll.)

CHAPTER IX

FIRE, AND COMPLETION OF THE NAVE

Fire and Rebuilding : New Cloister : More King's Masons : The Nave.

Fire and Re-building.

It is likely that Henry III. never contemplated building more than the Chevet, the Choir, the Chapter House, and the Belfry. The nave and the monastic buildings of the old church, the former not yet a century old, were to remain as they were. The king, therefore, saw his work practically complete in all its beauty. The great bulk of the eastern work rose high above the nave and Lady Chapel ; the stone work was fair and sharp ; the lead roof shone like silver; the window-glass gleamed against the light like nets of sea-water or as if mixed of fire and sky ; the royal doors, with their noble statues of the Apostles, were daintily illuminated in colour and gold. The greater part of the cloister was of sturdy Norman work, wood-roofed. The dormitory over its cellars and the refectory were long ranges of early Norman building, while the infirmary, which backed close upon some of the palace buildings, was of elegant transitional Norman. To complete the picture we are to think of our Abbey as set about with its farm buildings, granaries and mills, and its orchards and fields. So it stood for a few years only; and then an accident necessitated large re-building works—works which form an intermediate chapter in the history of the Abbey buildings.

FIRE AND RE-BUILDING

In 1298 there was a great fire at the palace, which is mentioned by several chroniclers; only one of these, however, in a MS. Chronicle of St. Mary of Southwark in the British Museum,* gives facts which, I believe, have not been made use of by any historian of the Abbey. They are to the effect that on March 29, 1298, was burnt the little hall of the king at Westminster, also the monk's dormitory, refectory, infirmary, cellars, and the abbot's hall. These are exactly the parts of the Abbey buildings which were altered and rebuilt during the course of the fourteenth century.

Directly after this fire a still worse thing befell the monastery, for it became involved in the robbery of the king's treasury, and several of the monks were imprisoned for two years. Matthew of Westminster writes: "Edward, King of England, had his Treasury plundered by a single robber in England, for which ten monks of Westminster were unjustly imprisoned."†

The patching up of the portions burnt must have been at once done in a temporary way, but the more substantial re-building consequent on the fire was delayed for a generation, and then proceeded slowly. The dormitory would be first repaired, and here we find some pretty two-light Edwardian windows, of about 1300 taking the place of the old Norman lights. (Fig. 71.) Below in the ranges of cellars there are also some doorways

* Faust. A. 8.

† The author who goes by the name of Matthew of W., I should say here and elsewhere.

of this time. In 1307 "divers houses within the Abbey were roofed and repaired" by Edward II.*

The fire must have burst out from the dormitory and have injured the west window of the Chapter House which faces it. When Scott renewed the Chapter House he found that the west window had originally been of four lights like the others, but more recently had been of five lights. "It was clear, from fragments of the tracery found, that the window had been renewed by Abbot Byrcheston when he rebuilt the bays of the cloister opposite to the Chapter House entrance, and in the same style with them. He, therefore, altered it from a four- to a five-light window" (c. 1350).

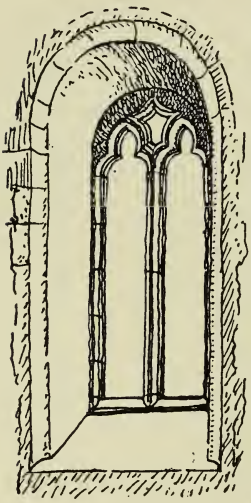

Fig. 71. — Edwardian Window in Norman opening

Scott, in his restoration, made the "style" of the west window like to the others.

The west door of the infirmary chapel is also of the work erected about 1350.

It has been said above that the earlier form of the infirmary would have been a hall in continuation of its chapel. Burnt in 1298, it was not rebuilt in the old form, but as a series of small lodgings surrounding a court, the present Little Cloister. This was the work of Litlington, whose arms are on the tower to the right of the entry to the court. The refectory had its upper stage

* Brayley and Britton.

rebuilt as at present, and a new timber roof rested upon the fine corbels which jut out between the windows.* The abbot's hall was also rebuilt, and the cloister was completed by Litlington, whose monogram and arms appear on the bosses of the southern range of vaults. Litlington also built or rebuilt the kitchen and houses for the Sacrist and Almoner, the Great Malt House, the Mill, &c.†

New Cloister.

The work of the new cloister was resumed about 1340. The portion in front of the Chapter House and completing the eastern walk is evidently work of this time. It is known that Abbot Byrcheston (1344–1349) was buried in front of the entrance to the Chapter House, and the usual rule as to burials would show that these bays of the cloister were built in his day. In 1345 an account acknowledges 120 marks received from the Abbot for making a cloister. No names of masons appear in the extract given in "Gleanings," but an earlier account of 1342 shows that Walter le Bole, mason, was paid £20 for repairs and making of four windows and one great pillar by special agreement; also 60s. wages for making parapets; dress, boots, gloves and food being found. It is evident that Bole was a master, and he may have been responsible for the pattern of the new portion of the cloister, which was not a royal work. The work belongs to the Canterbury School of design, which at this

* These corbels do not space at the same intervals as the windows. The windows seem to occupy the positions of the Norman openings.

† See Sporley MS. and Widmore.

time was in the ascendant, and it is the last example at the Abbey of the earlier and more romantic fashion of mason craft. In 1349 the will of Walter Bole, mason, was proved at Guildhall; from it we learn that he lived in St. Andrew's, Castle Baynard.* This was the year of the Black Death, when Abbot Byrcheston and twenty-six monks of Westminster died of the plague. When work was resumed in the south cloister a great gulf was overpast. On one side was the formative age of the mediæval idea, on the other was the age of decay. In art at least "the prosperity which went before was never recurred." †

In 1351–2 the south cloister was in progress. It is called "the work of the Prior in the cloister." Only three or four masons were employed at a time at 1s. 8d. and 2s. a week. The master was paid 26s. 8d. over his wages, and for his dress and shoes 16s. 4d. The name of this master is not given in the extracts published in "Gleanings," but the fee of two marks was the regular one for master masons at this time at Exeter Cathedral and other places. In 1354 the same fee was paid to the head mason, "but nothing for his dress this year because he refused to take it on account of delay in its delivery" (I don't want any of your robes !)

The foundations of the south walk were completed by a man and a boy during forty weeks of 1356. Most of the work up to this time must have been in the preparation of the masonry, so that on the removal of the Norman work it could be set

* Sharpe's "Wills." † Capgrave's "Chronicle."

up quickly. In 1357-8 one of the doorways in the south walk was completed and the vaulting was being erected—one "bedder" being hired to hasten the work.

In 1366 three masons were employed at 2s. a week each, with "livery" of bread and ale. The receipts and expenses for this year were £45 4s. 10d., and a note on the account reads "and so they were equal, the cloister being finished."

More King's Masons.

The king's master mason, who succeeded Master William Ramsey (see p. 196) seems to have been John Box, who was working at the palace by task-work in 1353. In 1355 (28 Ed. III.) Master John Box, Cementarius, was receiving 12d. a day, and one Thomas of Gloucester "apparitor" 6d. a day, on the king's works at the Tower, Master William Herland being the carpenter.* In other Rolls of this and the following year concerned with the palace and St. Stephen's Chapel Thomas of Gloucester appears alone,† and he must have been one of the best-known masons in London, for in 1356 certain articles touching the conduct of the craft being under consideration, the Mayor caused "the good folk of the trade" to be summoned before him that he might best know how the trade should be ordered: whereupon they selected twelve of their number to represent them, viz.:

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* Exchequer Accounts, 417, 11. † 471, 9, 15, 16.

Walter de Sallynge.	Richard Joyce.
Richard de Sallynge.	Symon de Bartone.
Thomas de Bredone.	John de Estone.
John de Tyryngton.	John Wylot.
Thos. de Gloucester.	Thomas Hardegray.
Henry de Yevele.	Richard de Cornwaylle.
On behalf of the Mason-hewers or Freestone-masons.	*On behalf of the Layers or Setters.*

They agreed on eight articles, the first being that "Every man of the Trade" might do either branch of the work "if he be perfectly skilful and knowing in the same."* In 1358–9 Thomas of Gloucester was still working at the palace, and is called "cementarius and apparitor working and ordering mason's work." He was, I have no doubt, the king's chief mason of the time. William Herland was the carpenter.†

The Nave.

In 1362 Cardinal Langham gave £40 towards the building of the body of the church.‡ And a letter is preserved of the time of his successor, Abbot Litlington (1362–1386), which shows that a part of the ancient church by the cloister had been pulled down—probably part of the south aisle—when the cloister was being completed.

In 1388 the completion of the nave was undertaken by Richard II. An account of his eleventh year entitled "The New Work of the Church of Westminster" speaks of men being employed in "breaking down the walls of the old church." A fee is entered for Master Yevele, chief mason, 100s. per

* Riley's "Memorials."

† Exchequer Accounts, 472, 4. ‡ Stow.

annum, and for his dress and furs, 15s." Another fee of 13s. 4d. was paid to Robert Kentbury,* and Thomas Padington received 10s. for a tunic. Six years later Henry Yevele was still chief mason, and he probably remained in charge of the work until close to the time of his death in 1400. We may look on him as the "designer" of the nave and of even the lower part of the West Front of which the porch so closely resembles the porches of Westminster Hall and Winchester Cathedral. Yevele was the great master of the time, and during a long life he did so much that it will be well to give a separate account of him. The work was carried forward slowly by ten or twelve masons for several years. Pillars of marble for the nave-arcade were wrought at Corfe at a cost of £40 each. A new lodge for the masons was built in 1395.† Some of the bays of the nave must have been finished by Richard II., for the window to the left of the western door into the cloister had in the glazing his badge of the white hart. A porch was also built by Richard II. in front of the North Transept, and this would also have been Yevele's work. The exterior of this fine porch is shown in Hollar's engraving, and its plan is in "Dugdale." (See our Fig. 73.)

Richard II. by will (1399) left certain jewels to the "Fabric of the Nave of St. Peter, Westminster, by us begun."‡

In the first year of Henry IV. Master William of

* He was under-master to Yevele, I suppose. In 1381 Robert Kentbury held a croft at Westminster. Bentley's Cartulary.

† Scott's "Gleanings." ‡ Nichols' "Royal Wills."

Colchester was chief mason of the works of the nave of the Abbey, receiving a fee of 100s. a year and his dress and furs. In 1413 (1 Hen. V.) William was still master mason of the new nave, "ordering and surveying the work" for a yearly fee of £10. John Russe and Richard Knappe were paid for twenty-four small pieces of marble.*

This year Henry V. appointed (Sir) Richard Whittington to receive 1000 marks a year, granted by the king, for the completion of the church; that is, to act as keeper of the works; and a patent was issued for pressing workmen.†

In 1415 John (?) Colchester, mason, was ordered to press workmen for the king's work at Harfleur, and Simon Lewys and John Benet of Maidstone, masons, were in this same year ordered to press 100 masons for Henry V.'s expedition. Benet is again mentioned in 1418.‡

In 1416, on the recommendation of the king, William Colchester became master mason at York Cathedral, and I cannot say what immediately happened at Westminster, although we know who was king's mason about a dozen years after Colchester went to York, from an account of the building of St. Stephen's, Walbrook. This church was begun on May 11, 1429, and hallowed on St. Erkenwald's Day, 1439, Robert Chichele, grocer and alderman, brother to the Archbishop, being the chief benefactor. Eight memorial stones were laid by important people: one by Master Thomas Mapilton, "the king's mason, then being

* "Gleanings," p. 214.

† Hist. MSS. Report, vol. iv. ‡ Rymer.

master mason of the said church work." * Master Thomas Mapilton had been master of the works at Durham Cathedral until 1416, the year Colchester went to York. Possibly the latter was sent away to make room for Mapilton. At York, Colchester was looked on as an interloper, and a letter is in existence which explains that "some masons, being moved by envy, conspired against Master William Colchester, appointed by the king's patent, and attacked him so that his life is in danger."†

In 1422 Henry V. died, and we know from an Issue Roll that £23 6s. 8d. was paid on account of his tomb in the Abbey in the same year. To Mapilton we probably owe the mason craft of this tomb, and the beautiful chantry which surmounts it.

From an almost contemporary Life,‡ it appears that the king had seen to the devising of his tomb before his death. "His body was embalmed and cired, and laid on a royal carriage, and an image like to him was laid upon the corpse, open ; and with divers banners, and horses covered with the arms of England and France, St. Edward and St. Edmund,§ and a great multitude of torches . . . and brought with great solemnity to Westminster and worshipfully buried ; and after was laid on his

* "Transactions," *London and Miadlesex Archæological Society*, vol. v. Thomas may have been the son of John Mapylton, marbler, of St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, who died 1407. Sharpe's "Wills."

† Rayne, York Fabric Rolls.

‡ MS. Claud. A. 8. See also the King's Will.

§ Similar arms can still be traced painted on the shields over the altar of the chapel, and the images of the altar piece are the patrons of England and France with Saints Edward and Edmund.

tomb a royal image, like to himself, of silver and gilt, which was made at the cost of Queen Katharine. . . . He ordained by his life the place of his sepulchre, where he is now buried, and every day iii masses perpetually to be sungen in a fair chapel over his sepulchre." His will also provides that the chantry should be a raised relic chapel with two stairs, one for ascent, the other for descent. The form of this chantry was, I believe, suggested by the relic stage and its staircases in the Ste. Chapelle, Paris, which the king would have known so well.*

In a bill of 1422 we appear to trace the very arms made for the funeral. Thomas Daunt was paid for these "scutcheons," and 33s. 4d. for a helmet and crest for the king, possibly those which still exist.†

In 1431 the iron grate was made for the chantry.

Possibly some of the tombs in the Abbey church, also, like those of Lord Bourchier (1431) and Phillipa of York (1431), may have been erected under Mapilton's influence.

We know for certain who was king's mason working at the Abbey about 1448.

At a commission held to determine the place of burial of Henry VI. evidence was given that about twelve years before his death Henry VI. entered St. Edward's Chapel, and, having selected a place, "commanded a mason to be called to mark out the

* There is not the least doubt that the effigy was silver. It is mentioned again in the Suppression Inventory. See Stanley's "Memorials" also.

† Rymer.

ground, whereupon, by the advice of the Abbot, was called Thirsk, that time being master mason in the making of the chapel of Henry V. [not yet finished, or a mistake], which mason incontinently came, and with his 'pykkes' marked out the said sepulture. Thomas Fifelde of London, marbler, [aged] 66, proved that messengers came to the house of John Essex, head marbler in S. Paul's Churchyard (with whom Thomas was apprentice) and desired him to go to the king to make a tomb for him. Whereupon John Essex sent for Thomas Stephens, coppersmith, of Gutter Lane, and they went forthwith to Westminster. On the next day Fifelde heard his master and Thomas Stephens, sitting at supper in the house of John Essex, say that they had bargained with the king for his tomb and had received 40*s.* on account, of which they gave one groat to deponent. But nothing was done because of the great troubles which followed." *

Of John Essex, marbler, and Thomas Stephens, coppersmith, we hear again as having, together with William Austin, founder, made the tomb of the Earl of Warwick.†

We may, perhaps, assign the beautiful screen between the altar and the Confessor's chapel at Westminster to Thirske. The Confessor's chapel seems to have been rearranged in consequence of the building of Henry V.'s chantry, and the evidence of style points to the work belonging to the reigns of Henry VI. or Edward IV.

Work at the nave was continued by Abbot

* Stanley's "Memorials."

† See agreements in Dugdale's "Warwick."

Millyng, who is called "master of the works," in 1469, when he acknowledged a debt of £37 to the plumber (Hist. MSS. Comm. iv. p. 179). Abbot Estney (1474–98) contributed largely to the completion of the west end of the church, and the great west window is his work."* In 1484

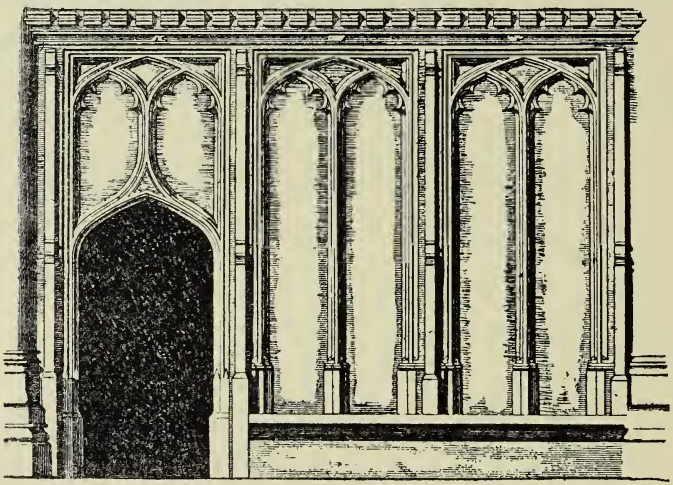


Fig. 72.—Islip's screen. West end of Nave Aisle

William Turnour is said to have been master mason at the church,† but this I have not been able to verify.

Abbot Islip, 1500–33, completed the west front except the towers and the gable ; the latter remained weather-boarded when Wren reported, and the former were not undertaken until 1740.

Some stone screens which were in the western bays beneath the towers bore Islip's rebus ; they were destroyed early in the last century.‡ (Fig. 72.)

* Keepe. † Papworth, in Dict. Archr. s.v., Westminster.

‡ See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1808.

The Abbot's own chapel was built during his life, and is shown complete in the drawings of his funeral.* In the description it is said that the mourners, "in a place over the chapel of the defunct, found prepared spiced bread, suckett, marmylite, and wine. In the mean season they of the church did bury the defunct in the chapel of his building. And the four banners of Our Lady, St. Peter, St. Edward, and St. Catherine were affixed to irons."

* These drawings have now been published by the Society of Antiquaries.

CHAPTER X

A MASON AND A CARPENTER

Master Henry Yevele, King's Mason, and Master Hugh Herland, King's Carpenter.

In the list of the mason's jury for the year 1356 we have seen the name of Henry de Yevele, mason-hewer. He was to become the great representative mason of the second half of the fourteenth century. A document of the year 1362 names Mistre William Herland, chief carpenter, Henry Yevele, deviser of masonry, and William of Wikham, clerk.* In 1365 Yevele was master mason of the king's works at the Palace and the Tower, at a wage of 1s. a day. William of Winchester, Cementarius and apparitor, received 6d.; Master William Herland, master carpenter, 1s.; and Hugh Herland, apparitor of carpenter's work, 6d.† In 1375 William Herland, the carpenter, died. From his will it appears that he lived in the parish of St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf, and was buried in the parish church.‡

Master Henry Yevele.

In 1371 Henry Yevele, Cementarius, was "sent to various parts to retain divers masons to be sent in the retinue of the king (Edward III.) beyond seas," and money was delivered to him for the wages of twenty-five masons receiving each 6d. a day. William de Wynford, Cementarius, was

* 472, 10, and 8. † 472, 16.

‡ Sharpe. "Calendar of London Wills."

sent on a similar mission.* This Wynford was to become the architect to William of Wykeham at Winchester Cathedral and College. He is mentioned in the bishop's will, and his portrait is painted on the glass of the east window of the College chapel, together with the carpenter and glazier of the same. He was rewarded by the king by a gift of property at Windsor, and had probably been the king's mason there while Wykeham was surveyor or clerk to the works.

In 1377 (1 Rich. II.) Yevele was directed by patent to take masons and put them on the king's works at the Palace and the Tower, with power to imprison the disobedient. In another patent of 1378 Yevele is called "Director of the Works in the Art of Masonry at the Palace and the Tower in the late reign," and a grant for life of 12d. daily, made in 1370, is confirmed. In this same year he and Master William Wynford were directed to take masons and set them to work at Southampton. In 1381 Yevele was ordered to collect masons for service in Brittany. The year before a proposal was made to build a tower on each side of the Thames so that a chain, stretched from one to the other, might protect shipping. William Walworth, John Northampton, Nicholas Twyford, goldsmith—all important city people—and Henry Yevele formed a committee for seeing to this work.† About the same time Yevele designed the south aisle of St. Dunstan's in Thames Street. In an agreement of 1381 between Lord Cobham and

* Devon's Issue Roll. Was he the same as the William of Winchester above ?

† Riley's "Memorials."

Nicholas Typerton, mason, preserved in the British Museum, Typerton undertakes to build the aisle "selon la devyse de Master Henry Ivelighe." Here we have an instance of one famous mason directing the work carried out by another. Yevele was also employed by Lord Cobham to overlook the work of Thomas Wrewk and William Sharndale at Cowling Castle.*

In 1383 Yevele was one of several surveyors for making a bridge at Stroud. In the same year Master William de Wynford, one of the masons of the late king (Edward III.), was granted £10 yearly out of the fee-farm of Guildford in lieu of a patent, 46 Ed. III., allowing him the like amount out of the estate of John Brocas, knight. A grant was also made to Hugh Herland, carpenter, "verging on old age," of 12d. daily, and a robe yearly. At this time Hugh Herland was living on the south side of Thames Street in the city.

In 1384 I find that Yevele is still called a stonemason, and in the same year a ratification was made of his estate in two shops in St. Mary Outwich parish, late of John Totenham, carpenter, in consideration of great services to the king. John Totenham had been the city carpenter twenty years before. (See Appendix.)

In 1388, as we have seen, and for many years after, our master mason was directing the works at the new nave of Westminster Abbey church, which he probably designed.

In 1389 he was "handsomely rewarded" and

* I. G. Nichols, *London and Middlesex Archæological Transactions*, vol. ii. 1865.

promised a yearly robe of esquire's degree, and in 1390 he was exempted from being put on juries, &c., in consideration of his being king's mason and surveyor of the works within the Palace of Westminster, &c., *and on account of his great age.** If he was now seventy he must have been born in 1320 and have been thirty-six when we first found him holding a distinguished place amongst London masons.

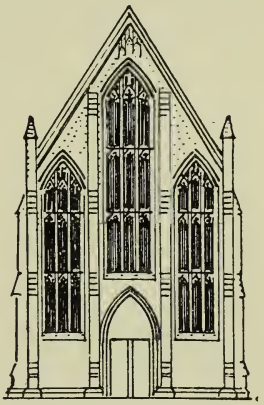


Fig. 73.—Porch added to N. Transept, probably by Yevele. After Hollar

In 1390 Yevele's old pension of a 1s. a day was "cancelled because the king granted him the manors of Fremworth and Vannes, in Kent."

Richard's queen, Anne of Bohemia, died in 1394, and the king at once set about making the splendid tomb for her and himself which stands on the south side of the Confessor's chapel. Two agreements at the Record Office were published by Rymer. In the first, Henry Yevele and Stephen Lote undertake to make a tomb of marble like the tomb of Edward III. (which it adjoins), and according to a model bearing the seal of the Treasurer of England, for £250, and £20 additional if it gave satisfaction. The other agreement was with Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest in regard to the bronze images for the same tomb.

From the resemblance of this tomb to that of

* Cal. Patent Rolls.

Edward III. (d. 1377) there can be little doubt that the marble work of that also was the work of Yevele who, as we have seen, was master mason to Edward III. The tomb of Archbishop Langham, who died in 1376, is again, in many respects, similar, and among the Westminster papers is preserved the receipt for £20, given by Henry Yevele and Stephen Lote, on account, for making this tomb.*

We are next to find Master Henry Yevele directing (and designing) the mason-work for the reconstruction of Westminster Hall. A patent to John Godmerestone was issued for these works in 1394, and in 1395 an agreement was made for the execution of the great cornice and corbels under the roof. This contract is printed by Rymer. The following is its purport: Indenture made between the king, on the one part, and Richard Washbourn and John Swalwe, masons, on the other part. Witnesseth that the said masons undertake to make well and loyally "a table" surmounting the ancient walls of the *Grande Salle*, of Reigate stone, and to put "marre-stone" (sea-stone = Caen) *ou mestier serra*, according to the purport of a *Fourme e Molde*, made by counsel of Mastre Henry Yevele, and delivered to the said masons by Watkin Waldon, his warden. And the said masons shall have 12d. a foot of assize along the wall, and they shall make 26 souses (corbels) of marre-stone, and put them in place as convenient, wrought according to the purport of a "patron" shown to them by the treasurer, taking for each twenty soldy by the survey

* Hist. MSS. Comm. iv. p. 179.

of Master Henry and Watkin. But the king will find all necessary stone, lime, sand, scaffolds, and gins, except hand-work, and the instruments by which masons work at their art; finding also harbourage for the masons and their *compaignons*. Endorsed, *L'Endenture touchant les Masons du Roy.**

Master Hugh Herland.

A Roll of 1395–6, now in the British Museum,† is the account of Master Hugh Herland, one of the king's carpenters, for payments made by John Godmeston, clerk to the works, for the reparations at the great hall and St. Stephen's Chapel. In this account the task-work undertaken by Washbourn and Swallow is mentioned; also work done by Robert Kentbury (whose name we have had before) and by Richard Smith.

An interesting description of the roof of the Hall and "the beauty of the execution of this unique work" is given by Viollet-le-Duc, who points out that France has nothing of the same epoch comparable *comme luxe de construction*. Below we shall find that Master Hugh Herland was in 1398 called carpenter and comptroller of the works at Westminster Hall, and there cannot be a doubt that he was the designer of the vast roof, and that, even more than Yevele, he deserves the name of architect to the hall. We have seen that he was the descendant of a family of carpenters, and that in 1365 he was working as foreman under his father, William, who died in 1375. A patent of 1 Richard II. (1377) is addressed to "Master

* For death and tomb of Yevele, see p. 219. † Add. Rolls 27,018.

Hugh Herland, one of the late king's (Ed. III.) carpenters, whom the king has retained"; and he is granted "10 marks yearly as in 40 Ed. III."

In 1378 the Master of the Hospital at Stroud was appointed "chief surveyor and clerk" at Rochester Castle (an office exactly like Wykeham's at Windsor). The work was to be done "by the survey and control of Master Hugh Herland, carpenter, at 12d. daily wages." In 1379 he was appointed "one of the king's master carpenters during pleasure, with 12d. daily wages and a winter robe yearly." He seems to have been younger in the service than Richard Swift, who was appointed to be "the king's master carpenter" on the same terms, in the year before, with a pension of 100s. 8d. yearly in addition. In this year also Robert Franceys was made "one of the king's carpenters, constantly serving under the master of the carpenters, at 6d. daily. Richard Swift and Hugh Herland were commanded in 1381 to press fifty carpenters for the king's service in Brittany.*

A Roll of 1398-9† gives "Particulars of the account of John Godmeston, clerk of the works, at the king's great hall . . . by the sight and testimony of Master Hugh Herland, chief carpenter to the king and comptroller of the works." From the wages of the "officers" given at the end of the Roll it is seen that Master Hugh received 1s. a day. A large number of carpenters were engaged, but the masonry was done by task-work. John Swallow and William Yford were paid for four windows in the side of the hall. Thomas

* Patents. † Record Office, 22 Rich. II. 473, 11.

Wolvey for mason's work in the two turrets, 20 ft. of battlement work to the gable and the great window in south gable. William Cleuddere worked some pinnacles and four images. A stage for the coronation of Henry IV. is included in the account. In another Roll, a year later, Master Hugh Herland still appears as "head carpenter to the king" and comptroller of the works.*

Thomas Wolvey we saw was doing work for the new hall in 1398. Now Gough gives an inscription from a tomb at St. Michael's Church, St. Albans, to "Thomas Wolvey, latomus in arte . . . to King Richard," dated A.D. 1430. He appears to have been the father of masons for two generations. Later another gravestone was placed in the same church to Richard Wolvey, lathomus, the son of John, and to his wife, eight daughters, and ten sons, of which Richard died in 1490.

Master-mason Yevele, the designer of the stonework of the new hall, and Herland, the contriver of the great roof, who had charge of the works, must have been familiar acquaintances of Chaucer, who, in 1390, was appointed Clericus Operatioum of the Royal Palaces.† Yevele must have been very old when the hall was undertaken, hence the close association with him of Watkin Waldon. Yevele died in 1400, and was buried in St. Magnus, London Bridge. Stow, apparently quoting the inscription on the tomb, writes: "Henry Yevele, Freemason to Edward III., Richard II. and Henry IV. who deceased in 1400—his monument yet remaineth." From his will it appears that he had

* 473, 13. † Patent, 13 Rich. II.

built his own tomb at St. Magnus. His property he left to his wife Katherine on condition that she employed two chaplains to celebrate in St. Magnus at St. Mary's altar, for the souls of Margaret, his late wife, his parents Roger and Marion, King Edward III., Sir John Beauchamp, and others. His executors were John Clifford, mason, Stephen Lote, mason, and others. We have met Lote before (p. 216). Clifford would almost seem to have been a partner of Yevele's, for they are both, with Katherine, wife of the latter, parties to a deed in 1389. It seems probable that Yevele must have worked for Sir John Beauchamp. Henry Yevele's will was proved in 1400; in it he is called "masoun" citizen and freeman, parishioner of St. Magnus, London Bridge.* From a list of property belonging to London Bridge we find that a tenement held by Henry Yevele, mason, was situate between the street on the east and the Oyster gate on the west, and was subject to a charge of 5s.† Perhaps the County Council will put up a tablet to this distinguished citizen. Judging from his work at Westminster Hall and from the nave of Winchester Cathedral, erected by his associate Wynford, Yevele practised in a big and bare style. He must have been one of the influences at work in transforming the art of 1350 into the "Perpendicular" of 1400. The Guildhall of London, begun in 1411, is manifestly built in Yevele's manner. We are usually told that the Perpendicular style is especially a product of Gloucester, and it

* Sharpe. "Cal. of Wills," and Nichols.

† Chronicle of London Bridge.

does seem probable that the large work of applying slight *casings* there to the earlier building may have influenced the turn the style took. On the other hand, the Chapter House at St. Paul's of 1332 seems to have approximated very closely to the Perpendicular manner, so also did St. Stephen's Chapel, and I should expect the first word in fashions to have been said by the King's Masons of London.

CHAPTER XI

HENRY THE SEVENTH'S CHAPEL

Master Masons : Restoration : Sculpture : Construction : Bronze Work : Glazing.

> "*One of the Statelyest and Daintiest Monuments of Europe both for the Chappell and for the Sepulcher.*"
>
> BACON.

THE new Lady Chapel, built wholly in the sixteenth century, and yet without any taint of the Renaissance, witnesses well to the vitality of our national forms of workmanship before they were overborne by the foreign fashions introduced by the king and court.

Master Masons.

As an exercise in architectural composition of intentionally romantic cast, self-conscious, elaborate, and artificial, it is a work of extraordinary merit. The planning of the wide nave, and aisles so narrow as to be almost blocked by the fine Elizabethan tombs,* the very beautiful bending of the external wall into a series of bay windows, the marvellous skill of the vaulting, which has been well analysed by Professor Willis, and the profusion of finely arranged and well-wrought sculptures, make a wonderful whole.

The foundation stone of this chapel was laid on January 24, 1502, by the king. The inscription on it is given by Holinshed. In 1509, immediately before his death, the king drew up a will giving details as to his intentions for the com-

* One of which was taken by Stevens, I believe, as a type of his Wellington Monument.

pletion of the chapel, and mentioning "a plat signed by our hands." It is probable that the structure was nearly completed by 1512, when Torregiano began the noble bronze effigies of the late king and queen, after an earlier scheme for the tomb had been abandoned. In regard to this earlier scheme a memorandum, dated 1509, at the Record Office, referred to more fully below, states that Robert Vertue, Robert Jenins, and John Lebons, "the King's III m^r. masons, say that the workmanship in the black touchstone and white marble will cost," &c. There can hardly be a doubt that one of the king's three master masons who were so consulted as to the cost of the tomb was the chief master engaged at the same time in building the chapel. Robert Vertue was probably father or brother of W. Vertue, who about this time was working at Windsor, and Robert Jenins was probably a son of the master mason at St. George's Chapel.

There are, indeed, so many relations between Edward the Fourth's work at Windsor and Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster, that it may be well to give a glance back to the earlier work. In a MS. Roll of 1482-3 entitled "The Chapel of St. George, Windsor," the name of Henry Janyns is given amongst the "officers," as principal *cementarius*, receiving £12 a year; John Tresilian being principal smith at £24 5s.; and Thomas Chancellor, clerk to the works, at £10. The mason, carpenter, and clerks received gowns of office.*

This Henry Janyns may very well be a son of

* Record Office. Exchequer Accounts, 496, 28.

the Robert Janyns who, about 1450, was the master mason engaged in building the tower of Merton College, Oxford.* This relation may be significant, as the vault of Henry the Seventh's Chapel is a developed copy of that of the Divinity School, Oxford.

In 1505 an indenture was made with John Hylmer and William Vertue, free-masons, by which they agreed to vault the choir of St. George's Chapel, according to the roof of the body (nave) of the same in seven severies, with archibotants outside and king's beasts standing on them [these are now lost], but the pendants of the vaults were to be more pendant and hollower than those of the body, [so they are.] John and William bound themselves to find all manner of stone and timber, and all things necessary with carriage, and to finish the work for £700 by Christmas 1508.†

Robert Ellis and John Filles, carvers, did some of the tabernacles of the stalls, and Derrick van Grobe and Giles Van Castel were engaged on the imagery. In 1510 William Virtue was granted to be master mason during pleasure at the Tower and elsewhere, with 12d. a day and a robe like the suit of Squires of the Household, as lately held by Thomas Danyll.

At a later date (1516) we find that Master Vertue and Henry Redmain were working together at Eton on the work at the west side of the court, including Lupton's tower. They each received a fee of 13s. 4d. A plat, and a picture of the front,

* Accounts printed by Thorold Rogers, " History of Prices," vol. ii.

† Tighe and Davis.

are mentioned. Humphrey Coke was the carpenter. He, in 1509, was paid 6s. 8d. for figuring the plat of the cloister. He was made chief carpenter in 1519.

In 1520 Vertue again received 10s. for supervision of the "New Work." As Willis and Clark suggest, he must be the same William Vertue who vaulted the choir of St. George's Chapel, 1505-8. The same William Vertue in 1512 assisted William Este, of Oxford, to build Corpus Christi College.*

We will now return to the master of Henry the Seventh's Chapel. In 1501, the year before the foundation of the new chapel, Robert Vertue received £40, in part payment of £100, for building a new tower at the Tower of London. In 1503 £10 was advanced to him in part payment for making a new "plat" at Greenwich. There can now be no doubt that the senior king's mason who was the designer of Henry the Seventh's Palace of Pleasaunce at Greenwich (a great mass of buildings something like the early work at Hampton Court), and who, as we have seen, was referred to in regard to the cost of the tomb in the chapel some years later, was also the architect of the chapel itself.

From the household accounts of Henry VII. from which the above facts are obtained, it is apparent that the building of the chapel was

* Papworth. Este had been the master mason for the king's works at Woodstock. He is mentioned in 1495, and in 1501 he received £800 in full payment for the building of Woodstock. *British Museum. Add.* 7099. *Household Exp.*, H 7. W. Vertue and Henry Redmayne were still king's masons in 1519, and the former was working as late as 1526.

pushed forward very rapidly. Dating from 1503 some £3000 were quickly paid in instalments to the Abbot on account, then £5000 followed "by indenture," as well as nearly another thousand.* Holinshed tells us that the total cost was £14,000.

The king's chief carpenters about this time were Story, working at Greenwich in 1498, and Thomas Mauncy, who built new chambers at Westminster Palace in 1497, and rebuilt Baynard's Castle in the City.

The agreement of style between the details of masonry at Westminster and St. George's Chapel is very marked, and it is therefore interesting to find a relationship between the masters engaged at both places. The choir vault of Christ Church and the gateway of Tom Quad at Oxford also have affinities with Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

Among the Cottonian MSS. (Aug. A. 2.) is preserved a large drawing for a tomb which, it has been shown, is probably a design for the tomb of Henry VI., which was to have been placed in the new chapel at Westminster. We may assign this "plat" to one of the Vertues. The tomb appears to have been begun at Windsor, as in 1501-3 Master Esterfield was paid for "the king's tomb at Windsor," and a further sum was paid to the same for bringing it to Westminster. It has been thought, as money was also advanced to Esterfield for works at Woking, that he was a mason ;† but he was rather the king's man of business.‡

* British Museum. Add. 7099. † Gough ; also Papworth.

‡ In the Household Accounts some entries relate to his borrowing £100 for the king,

Mr. A. Higgins has suggested that the work sent to Westminster was the bronze grille of Henry VII.'s tomb, that it was being made by Esterfield, and that he might be a Fleming. It seems improbable that the brazen grate can be other than London work, and it is mentioned in the will of 1509 as incomplete. Widmore has said that the Convent actually brought Henry VI's. body from Windsor in 1501. Be this as it may, the king, who was first buried at Chertsey, and who, Henry VII. hoped, would be made a saint and become the chief relic of the new chapel, ultimately found a modest resting-place at Windsor.*

Restoration.

The exterior of our chapel was entirely renewed in the early part of last century, so that, in fact, it is now only a full-sized copy of itself. The external stone-work seems to have been decayed even in Wren's day; he calls it a nice embroidered work perfected in tender Caen stone. Amongst Mr. Lee's drawings is one of about 1700–20, which shows one of the bays to a large scale when the niches were still inhabited by the statues which were afterwards removed, "lest the Ministry should be injured."† The parapet is also shown, the original form of which has been discussed. In the restoration of 1807-22 the whole exterior was renewed by Thomas Gayfere, the Abbey mason, acting under Wyatt,

* In the Egerton Collection, 2358, is a book of building accounts for Greenwich, the Tower, and Westminster in 1500–2. Walter Martyn, John Carter, and John Tracey are named as masons.

† Dart. In 1712, as shown by the accounts for Wren's restorations now in the Bodleian.

the most famous restoring-away architect of his time. In a series of articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, John Carter chronicled the usual stupidities of such work. The old surface was entirely chopped away and replaced by a copy of that which could not be copied. Before this time it had been terribly let down, as may be seen in Carter's description of its state, but more by neglect than decay.

Fig. 74.—Statue of St. Anne, Henry VIIth Chapel. Drawn by Mr. R. Webster

A full account of the proceedings which led up to this undertaking is given by Cottingham. Gayfere, the mason, was examined and asked: "Is the masonry so totally decayed externally that the whole must have a new ashlaring?" "Certainly not," he replied, "as many parts of the present work, particularly on the north side, are nearly perfect. . . . The flying buttresses are all very much decayed, as are all the domes of the turrets, which work must come down as low as the canopies at least." The House of Commons Committee then ordered that it should be restored to a substantial state, but without removing the parts which were not decayed, and without reworking any of the old surfaces, which were to be retained.

The Dean, however, gave the order to proceed, unless stopped by an injunction, "as originally intended." Later there was another inquiry as to why the directions of the House of Commons had not been carried into effect, but it was now too late. The "unwise procedure," says Neale, "was fortunately counteracted by the *firmness* of the Dean." The result was, as William Morris put it, "Mr. Wyatt managed to take all the romance out of the exterior of this most romantic work of the late Middle Ages."

Fig. 75.—Statue of St. George, Henry VIIth Chapel. Drawn by Mr. R. Webster

Sculpture.

Some record of the forty-eight statues which stood about the pinnacles has been preserved in the copied names carved on labels forming part of their pedestals, of which a list has been printed.* They comprised Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, and Ancestors of the Virgin. Amongst the Apostles were Paul and Barnabas. Among the Prophets, St. John Baptist and the three companions of Daniel — Misael, Ananias, and Azarias. The last group is an interesting point in iconography if it could be guaranteed to be original.

The statues of the interior, nearly a hundred in

* By Mr. Micklethwaite. *Archæologia*, xlvii.

all, form our largest assemblage of sculptured saints after those on the west front of Wells. They are generally in good preservation and are full of character. It is hard to imagine a finer congregation of stone saints. At the east end is Christ, with the Virgin and the Angel of the Annunciation directly to the right and left; then come the Apostles and the most popular saints of the time.* Lawrence Imber, image-maker, mentioned below, may have sculptured some of these statues, and I find in a Roll of 1500 for works at Westminster, &c., the names of John Hudd, "sculptor," Richard Codinham, Robert Belamy, and Nicholas Delphyn.† Some may have been ordered from Master Drawswerd, the well-known image-maker of York.

In his will the king provided that the walls, doors, windows, arches, vaults, and images should "be painted, garnished, and adorned goodly and rich."

Construction of the Chapel.

Notwithstanding the redundancy of ornament with which the building is overlaid, both without and within, the essential structure itself is of a very high order of constructive imagination. The counterpoising of the wide central span by the stout buttress-flyers; the weighty pinnacled buttress-piers designed as a series of complete octagonal turrets rising from the ground; the bay-fillings, which are mere window-screens between these turrets, bent and

* See Mr. Micklethwaite's admirable paper.

† British Museum. Egerton MSS. 2358.

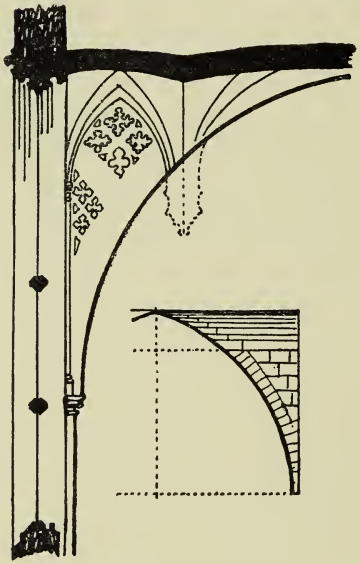
bowed on plan (Fig. 76) ; and, above all, the vault, are all extraordinary inventions.

The vault, which seems at first to be a questionable *tour-de-force*, combines conflicting excellences with surprising skill. Perhaps the chief problem of vaulting has been how to open out high windows in it while allowing the vault itself to spring sufficiently low down on the walls. In the church the windows are pushed high up into the vault, but the wall-ribs springing from the same height as the great transverse ribs leave only very acutely pointed spaces for the windows. Here, in Henry VII.'s Chapel, the spaces left are almost square the whole way up. This is accomplished by springing the vault-filling not from the angles next the walls but from the main ribs, some distance in from the walls ; and the spandrels of the main ribs, below this point, being pierced, permit of the windows being seen through these piercings in a raking view. The pendants are immaterial to the principle of the vault, and if a diagram be made shearing them off in the line of the big arches, and removing all the ornamentation, the value of the solution offered by this vault will be apparent. As geometry and stone-cutting it is wonderful. The web of the vault is only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. The constructive scheme is much more clearly evident in the vault of the Divinity School at Oxford (*c.* 1480), as there the great transverse arches are not hidden by the vault web, and the pendants are much less pro-

Fig. 76.—Bay design, Henry the Seventh's Chapel

nounced. The likeness is so great, however, that we must speak of the Westminster vault as a copy of that at Oxford.

Figure 77, A is a diagram of the constructive idea of the vault of Henry VII.'s Chapel. In considering it, it is evident that in its simplest terms it is a cross-groined vault over oblong compartments, the curve of the transverse penetrations being segments of the highest and central part of the longitudinal vault. The lower part of the longitudinal vault becomes in this scheme a series of arched wall-spandrels. Now the vault over the choir of Christchurch, Oxford, is founded directly on this solution (Fig. 77 B). In this the upper part of the arched ribs are hidden in the vault surface as at Westminster.



A B

Fig. 77.—Diagram of Vault System, Henry VIIth's Chapel

The tomb-screen, or rather chantry, is an extraordinarily beautiful work, one of the most masterly pieces of metal casting in Europe. It is conceived with great frankness as a little building of brass, all of open-work lattices, traceries, and brattishings, with turret-like

Bronze Work.

projections at the corners, all the details sharp and vivid ; and the inscriptions, badges of greyhounds and red dragons, and images, are triumphs of skill. "There they set up his monument, in a brazen impalement which looks like work not of our moderns but of Bazaleel.*

In his will Henry VII. speaks of it as "a grate in manner of a closure of copper, and gilt, after the fashion which we have begun, which we will by our said executors be fully accomplished."

In or about 1506 Lawrence Imber, Drawswerd of York, and others, made estimates for the images for Henry VII.'s tomb. The first-named probably made the patterns for the existing bronze "grate" or "closure," with its statues of Apostles and saints, which was begun before the king's death, as the estimate of the tomb sets out that he was to make "patrones" in timber of the images which were to be cast by Nicholas Ewen, and speaks of him as "the Imagere" and carver. Thomas Drawswerd was one of a famous York family of image-makers. He is mentioned in the Cathedral Fabric Rolls of 1498. He was Sheriff of York in 1505, M.P. in 1512, Mayor in 1515, and was still living in 1529.† About 1508 he carved the screens at Newark.

A copy of the original estimate in the British Museum ‡ of the proposed tomb which was never executed in that form, is entitled "An estimate of the charge for making of a tomb for K. Hen. VII. to be erected in his Chapel of Westminster, which plott was afterwards disliked by K. Hen. VIII.

* Hacket. "Life of Bishop Williams."

† Rayne, in Surtees Society. ‡ Harl., 297.

and altered according as it now stands."* The original at the Record Office is endorsed in the hand of Henry VIII. himself: "A remembrance of certain names and prices for making of a tomb."† The document reads: Lawrence Ymber, karver, for making the patrones in timber. The Imagere saith that the two images which be lying in the tombe, and the king's image kneeling upon the tombe—the workmanship perfectly done: 4 Lordes images kneeling upon the tomb: 12 small images in every side: will cost £64.

Mem. Drawswerd, Sheriff of York, for the same, to make them as well as can be done, &c. &c., £36.

Humphrey Walker, founder, says how much fine yellow metal would be required for the nineteen images great and small.‡

John Bell and John Maynard, painters, say that the royal painting work in colours, and workmanship that shall be done, would cost . . .§

Robert Vertue, Robert Jenins, and John Lebons, the King's III. master masons, say that the workmanship of the black touchstone and the white

* For Torregiano's work. † Gairdner's Cal. Hen. VIII.

‡ He was a gun founder, and was appointed gunner at the Tower in 1509. In 1517 he supplied iron shot (cast iron?) for the King's artillery.

§ It is difficult to think that the gilt bronze was to be picked out with *painting*, but the effigy of Margeret of York, in the south aisle, has the face and hands and the fur of the robe painted. The engraving in Sandford shows that the angels at the foot carried banners, one of England, and one of the red dragon of Wales. These bearings must have been painted, and it seems from Mr. Higgins' account that there was painting on the effigies.

marble stone for the said tomb after the manner of the moulding of the patrone that Master Pageny got made will cost £84 ; which will be delivered ready wrought within one year.

Master Finche and Roger Thorney, merchants, say that 100 ft. of touchstone for the ledge and base, and 80 feet of white marble, will be enough for the sides and ends.

It has been shown by Mr. Micklethwaite that Pageny must be the English version of Paganino, the name of an Italian artist who was at this time engaged on a tomb at St. Denis.*

The design, whether specially prepared by "Pageny" or adapted from a model of his work can be interpreted from the description. It was to be of black and white marble about 10 by 6 ft.; around the sides were to be twelve small figures and on the tomb full-sized effigies of the king and queen, also the kneeling figure of the king attended by four lords. To carve the models for these nineteen figures of bronze, "great and small," Lawrence Ymber and Drawswerd of York were thought the most able in the kingdom, and gave competitive estimates for so doing. These estimates give the original scheme for finishing the tomb in due relation to the grate begun in the king's lifetime.†

Some of the small figures which still remain in the niches of the grate are probably Ymber's work.

* See for this, and all Renaissance work at the Abbey, Mr. A. Higgins' admirable paper in *Archæological Journal*, 1894. I have no doubt that Torregiano's noble effigy of Henry VII. was the original for Holbein's portrait, the cartoon for which is at Chatsworth.

† It is noted also that the wood pattern for a bronze effigy at Ormskirk had been carved by John Hales.

Many of them are lost. Some were stolen in 1570, and further damage seems to have been done in 1643, when, it is said, "The stately screen of copper richly gilt, set up by Henry VII. in his chapel, was by order of the House reformed, that is, broken down and sold to tinkers."* But this is a great exaggeration. Mr. Burges spoke rather slightingly of the little bronze images belonging to the grate, but this opinion, I think, needs revision. For their purpose they seem wonderfully forceful, and not without grace. The St. George at the west end is, perhaps, especially beautiful. The others are the Confessor on the south and St. James Major on the east, all in the upper range. Below, on the south, are St. John the Evangelist with the cup, and St. Bartholomew, carrying his skin over his arm, also a prophet on the north. The general arrangement was doubtless to have the twelve Apostles occupying the whole east end and the lower range on the south, with prophets below to the north. The figures of the upper range—north, west, and south—if we may judge from St. George and the Confessor, and the indication of kings given on Sandford's engraving, were national saints.

The existing tomb of Henry VII. and of his queen was the work of Torregiano, the Florentine, who entered into a contract for the work in the year 1512, to make "well, surely, cleanly, work-

* Quoted in Haines' "Brasses," p. cclv. In 1556 John Russell, m^r^ carpenter, was paid £10 for repairing "the house where the tomb of copper standeth at Westminster, that the same may be more safely kept" (Jupp. Carpenter's Company).

manly, curiously, and substantially," for the sum of £1500, a tomb of marble with "images, figures, beasts, and other things, of copper gilt." The work seems to have been completed about 1518.

The tomb of Margaret of Richmond in the south aisle of the chapel is also obviously by the same artist, although in the accessories the style of an English assistant is seen. This, indeed, is also the case with the king's tomb, in which the large rose, with its supporters of a greyhound and a dragon, at the north end, is clearly English work, as also is, very probably, the coat-of-arms at the other end.*

The three portrait statues are truly magnificent works of art, both in their design and modelling. Although so splendid they are yet simple, quiet, and serious, and the faces and hands are entirely noble. While not so romantic and unapproachable as the thirteenth-century statue of Queen Alianor, these are altogether the greatest sculptures ever wrought in England.

Glazing.

The glazing of the chapel seems to have been of "stories and images" in brilliant colour above; and of badges below. Sketches of some of the latter are preserved in the Powell Collection in the British Museum. Hatton says that much of the glass of the western window was "finely stained," and those of the aisles were "painted with the fleur-de-lis, rose, and portcullis crowned." Some fragments still remain,

* Mr. St. John Hope.

especially in the tracery of the west window, which is filled with roses, feathers, and other badges.*

This glazing was almost certainly the work of Bernard Flower, the most famous glazier of the time. The design for it is mentioned in the king's will of 1509.—We will that . . . the said chapel be desked, and the windows glazed with stories, images, arms, badges, and "cognoissaunts," as is by us ready devised and in picture delivered to the Prior of St. Bartholomew, master of the works of the said chapel.

Now we find an account of Bernard Flower's which shows that he, with Andreano Andrew and William Ashe, was doing a large quantity of glass ("of Normandy") for Henry VII. at Westminster and Greenwich from 1500 to 1502. Moreover, amongst seven contracts made for completing King's College Chapel in 1516 was one with Galyon Hoon, Richard Bowde, Thomas Reve, and James Nicholson, all glaziers of London, for windows "after the form, manner, goodness, curiosity, and cleanness of the windows of the king's new chapel at Westminster, after such manner as one Bernard Flower, glazier, lately deceased, by indenture stood to do." They also undertook to deliver to Francis Williamson, of Southwark, and Simon Symonds, of Westminster, good and true patrons, otherwise called *vidamus*, for four upper windows of orient colours after the manner of the king's new chapel at Westminster, and according to the manner done by Bernard

* Neale gives the fullest account of what remains.

Flower.* The wooden stalls are very German in feeling, and this may be accounted for by the influence of such carvers as Derrick van Grove and Giles van Castel, who, as we saw above, were engaged at St. George's Chapel.†

The arrangement of these stalls and the position of the king's tomb have been changed as described in "Gleanings." We have also to imagine the glow of the windows and the first splendour of the gilt-bronze chantry. Still, however, it must always have been true as it is now, "that which most gluts the beholder's eye is the incomparable roof."

* The glazing at Hampton Court for Henry VIII. after 1530 was by the first named "Galyon Hoon, the king's glazier," who glazed the forty-eight lights of the great bay at 5d. a foot.

† Some of the carvings have been identified as copied from engravings by Durer and other German artists.

CHAPTER XII

WESTMINSTER SCULPTORS

Image Makers : Westminster Sculptures : Master John of St. Albans : Masters Alexander of Abingdon and William of Ireland : Master Richard of Reading : Effigies : Hawkin of Liége : Westminster Hall : Henry VII.'s Chantry.

He made an image of entaile,
So fair yet never was figure.
GOWER.

IT is impossible to divide off those who practised sculpture from ordinary free-masons. In Italy Niccolo Pisano was a "stone-cutter" equally expert in all the branches of the craft. In France Jean de Soignoles (1359)* was called "maçon et ymageur." In England John Bell, mason, agreed, in 1488, to serve the Chapter of Durham for "all their works of masonry with imagery and other," being without deceit, obedient, and buxom. And in the agreement for the sculptured Jesse-tree reredos in St. Cuthbert's, Wells, made in 1470, John Stowell, free-mason, undertook for forty pounds to execute "the workmanship and masonry craft of a Jesse front."

Image Makers.

Sculpture was also largely produced in shops, and there was a class of image-workers and marblers who made and distributed tombs just as there was a class of goldsmiths who sold cups, or of woodworkers who made chests and other furniture. Besides "tailleurs d'images," who devoted them-

* Godefroi ; Dict. Old French.

selves to carving images, there were even others who were specially painters of sculpture.*

In this way sculpture of the highest excellence was distributed, and when, in remote country churches, tomb effigies of wimpled ladies and mailed knights are found, which are almost exactly like those of Aveline or Crouchback at Westminster, we cannot doubt that they were ordered from London or some other important centre.†

The marblers of Corfe, the alabaster men of Nottingham, the masons of Barnack, and the bronze-founders of London and Gloucester, did large distributing trades. Gothic art, we must remember, was not only wrought at buildings, but in all the shops of all the towns. I have not found any Guild of London sculptors mentioned; they and the marblers may have formed one fraternity. The earliest names of London sculptors known to me are Thomas the image-worker and Richard his son, in 1226.‡

Westminster Sculpture.

At Westminster only the wreckage of the sculpture which once adorned the church now remains to us, and this is perishing day by day almost unrecorded. Until about 1870 the carvings of the entrance to the Chapter House, preserved by their coat of paint, were comparatively perfect, but in a generation they have mouldered out of all form. One of two angels which guarded a central figure of the Virgin, less injured than the rest, is an

* See Etienne Bolieau. Regulations of the Crafts of Paris, c. 1250.

† In the Paston Letters we have a record of the ordering of a tomb.

‡ "Liber Albus," p. 26.

extremely beautiful fragment. The sculpture of the outer order of the great arch forms a tree of Jesse. Jesse can still be seen at the bottom on the left, and David with the harp next above. The lowest figures on both sides are much alike, probably the Royal line is figured on one side and the Priestly line on the other.

The colouring of this door has been noticed on page 42. From Malcolm we learn some further particulars of the painting with which this doorway was once adorned. The sculpture of the great arch was gilt, the hollows being coloured black and scarlet, the foliage of the tympanum was also gilt, and the sub-arches were decorated with white foliage on a red ground, and with gilt flowers.

Within the Chapter House the two magnificent figures of the Virgin and the Angel of the Annunciation, which stand, one on either side of the door, are nowhere surpassed in effective action and elevated expression, and may stand with any architectural sculpture in the world. The angel formerly had wings, which were fixed by mortices.* In the short Roll of Accounts for 1253, two images wrought by task-work for 53s. 4d. are mentioned, and these may be the very images.† It is to be noted that this account is headed "Work at the Church, Chapter, and Belfry," and everything goes to prove that the Chapter House was being finished in this year. The little figures set in the meander of foliage up the jambs of the doorways are also lovely, and even now large photographs would record much of value and beauty. These figures

* Scott's "Recollections." † As suggested by Mr. E. S. Prior.

are, I believe, the patriarchs. At the bottom Adam seems to pluck a fruit; a little higher, Tubal Cain or some other holds the symbol of some craft, and still higher is Moses.

Around the interior great arch the figures are of prophets. These belong to the cycle of subjects which usually accompany the Virgin, and I have no doubt that the centre of the tympanum once contained her image. The destruction of the tympanum goes to confirm this. The Prophets are set in a carved moulding entirely undercut, and when examined closely are seen to be of great beauty.

In the church the noble angels swinging their thuribles high up in the transepts are the most important sculptures which remain. Two figures on the intermediate arch spandrels on the south side have not been explained.* Figures of Henry III. and the Confessor stand in the window jambs of the north transept,† and small half figures of angels are carved in the soffites of the arches of the same windows, and some of Cottingham's casts of these are now in the Architectural Museum. In the catalogue of his collection twenty-four are described. Each one held either a palm-branch, a crown, a chalice, a quadrant, a sun-dial, or a musical instrument, such as cymbals, dulcimer, bell, harp, viol, and reed-pipes. In St. Faith's Chapel there are some corbel-heads which are marvels of swift

* The best suggestion that I can make is that the figure to the left is the Confessor, and the figure to the right is the Pilgrim. It is possible that it represents the giving back of the ring, and in that case the two lost figures of the north transept would have been of the more usual scene.

† See Neale.

cutting. This chapel had been out of use and had never had gas, that most destructive agent, burnt in it until about eight years ago, and the stone-work here is consequently very sharp and fresh. On the north side, notice a lady's head, with linen head-dress, a smiling negro, and two grotesques. Also on the south side, three heads in the recess, the central one being very noble; the exaggerations are just enough to make these heads tell in the shade. High up in the North Transept forming a corbel, above which stood an image, is a very characteristic man's head in good condition. It looks like the portrait of a lay master, and may very well represent John of Gloucester, mason, or John of St. Alban's, sculptor (Fig. 67). In the triforium around the apse there are also some delightful corbels designed as half figures. In a window recess, recently opened out at the south end of the muniment chamber, some heads and bosses are perfectly preserved. One large head to the right is of extraordinary beauty, and a boss of a woman fighting a dragon is a master work. The spandrels of the wall-arcade of the ground floor are filled with foliage and figures. On the west side of the North Transept are Michael and the Dragon, an angel censing, a thorn-bush and deaf adders—all very fine. In the north-east chapel of the North Transept are others; one of St. Margaret. In St. Paul's Chapel there is some delicate figure work behind the monuments, how delicate can be seen from some fragments in a case in the Chapter House; one of the groups seems to be of St. Anne teaching the Virgin. In one of the south-east

chapels is an angel with extended arms holding two crowns. In the spandrels of the choir-arcades are a fine series of coats of arms. The bosses of the west aisle of the north transept have figures.

Master John.

All the sculptures mentioned, with the exception of the shields of arms, are comprised in the first work of Henry III., which was being finished about 1258–60. Now in 1257–8 John of St. Alban's, "sculptor of the king's images," received a robe of office while working at Westminster along with Peter of Hispania, the painter, and Alexander, the carpenter.* In John of St. Alban's, therefore, we have the master sculptor of these works of art. That there was a school of sculpture at the Abbey at this time is shown by the fact that the year after this John of Gloucester, "keeper of the works," was to cause the keepers of the works at St. Martin's (le Grand) to receive five *imagines regum incisas in franca petra*. Two years later, again, the keeper of the work at Ludgate was to have thirteen free stones from the king's mason at Westminster *ad sculpand.* images for the gate.

Masters Alexander and William.

The accounts for the Alianor Crosses (1292–4) show that the still-existing statues of the queen at Waltham were sculptured by Alexander of Abingdon, *le imaginator*, and those at Northampton were by William of Ireland, and we even know that they cost £3 6s. 8d. each (5 marks). These statues are of great beauty, romantic yet so quiet,

* Close Rolls.

the crown of English Gothic sculpture. Funny old images ! How few care for them, or know of Alexander of Abingdon or William the Irishman, the sculptors who wrought them. These same sculptors cut the images for all the other, now destroyed, crosses, so that we cannot doubt that they belonged to the Westminster School of Artificers. The Charing Cross figures were by Alexander, so that he was probably the chief master sculptor of his time. The name of Alexander, *le imagour*, occurs twice in the City Letter Books, in 1305–12.* Dr. Sharpe has been kind enough to inform me that in the first case the sculptor enters into a bond for a debt, and in the other promises to perform work for the parson of Stanwell Church, as he had undertaken by indenture. These agreements, entered at Guildhall, show that Alexander was a citizen of London, and that he supplied images for country churches as mentioned above. The Alianor Crosses were finished about 1295. In the following year Edward Crouchback died, and it may be that his effigy is the work of one of the imagers named, although, judging from the style, the erection of the tomb was delayed for several years. The figure of Aveline, his wife, on another tomb, closely resembles the queen's statues. Aveline was a great heiress ; she was married in 1268, and died while a girl of twenty-one in 1273. Her statue is terribly decayed ; its memory is best preserved in Stothard's etchings. The sway and draping of the body are exquisite. Her husband's

* See Sharpe's "Cal. of Wills," i. p. 558. The Letter Books have now been printed.

statue is in better preservation, and is an ideal knight's figure ; a lion at his feet is superb, and the weepers are only surpassed by those on Aymer de Valence's tomb.

Three heads, a king and two abbots, on the sedilia, being of wood and out of reach, are well preserved, and very fine both in workmanship and expression. They were carved about 1308. They have never been carefully drawn or photographed.

Aymer de Valence died in 1323. His effigy is perhaps even finer than that of Crouchback ; certainly the weepers are the most exquisite small sculptures in England. They are of the gayest type, and show close observation of character and gesture, of the fashionable fall of mantles, and the proper way to hold gloves, and are as vividly studied as Tanagra figurines, and should be of much more concern to us. There are casts of some of them in the Soane Museum taken some hundred years since when they were more perfect.*

In 1324–5 certain " imaginatori " of London were paid for working images for the stone choir screen at Exeter, but their work has disappeared.

Master Richard.

In 1333 Master Richard of Reading was paid £3 6s. 8d. for making by task-work images of St. Edward and the Pilgrim for the gable of St. Stephen's Chapel.† In 1319 a Richard of Reading, possibly the same, was interested in some tenements at

* We may note here that an artist while making a crucifix for a Yorkshire Abbey in the middle of the fourteenth century, had a naked man, whom he strove to imitate, constantly before him. Jusserand's " Lit. Hist. Eng.," p. 265.

† J. T. Smith.

Westminster.* In default of better evidence we may assign the sculpture of Aymer de Valence's tomb to Master Richard.

The effigy of John of Eltham (died in 1336) and the bright little "weepers" in the "hovels" or "housings" around the tomb might, as it is of alabaster, have been, like so much later sculpture in this material, wrought at Nottingham. (The image of Edward II. at Gloucester is, I think, by the same sculptor.) There is a reference to this tomb which I can hardly explain. In 1351 Edward III. wrote to the abbot that the body of his brother, John Earl of Cornwall, should be moved to some fitting place "entre les roials" agreeable to the devise of the Queen-mother Isabella, places being reserved for the King and his heirs. With all its beauty, Prince John's tomb is just a little shoppy and over-easy; but the extraordinarily delicate tabernacle which once surmounted the tomb must have given it the mystery it now lacks.†

Effigies.

This effigy, as it can so easily be examined, may serve as an example of how the mediæval sculptors, being stone-cutters and not clay modellers, always filled their work out to the full size of the original block. Notice how from the practical point of view the angels at the head and the beast at the foot were put in just to square out

* Hardy and Page. Middlesex Fines.

† Dart says it was of "delicate wrought spires and mason's work, intermixed and adorned with little images and angels." The tomb proper is remarkable, the alabaster being cut out so that what is left is very thin; the ground about the weepers was then *pierced*, and the whole backed with dark stone. For canopy, see Sandford.

the block, and how all the points of high relief come to one plane so that a drawing-board might be firmly placed on the statue.* So much for the influence of workmanship on design. It is hardly a paradox to say that everything may be traced to that, as from another point of view all may be traced to poetic instinct. And this is perfect art, the long developed tradition which wholly interpenetrates the material conditions with spiritual purpose.

From the side of thought, the little angels and beasts have a pretty history. In early sculptures Christ is represented as treading evil beasts under foot, and on effigies of bishops of the end of the twelfth century the tip of the crosier is often thrust into a dragon at the feet of the figure. With secular persons lions or dogs usually take the place of the dragon, but the meaning is parallel ; the knight or lady tramples on the things of this life. The angels at the head of the effigies are not merely smoothing the pillow of the dying, they are there to bear away the soul. In the illumination of the death of the Confessor at Cambridge (*c.* 1270) two angels are shown receiving a little figure which issues from the king's mouth. At the head of Aymer de Valence's image there is a little figure supported by two angels ; this was the knight's soul. Two sculptured angels wait by Aveline's pillow ; but in a painting, once in the trefoil of the gable above, they appeared again

* Crossing the legs of effigies was done from the same practical reasons, it gave more substance across the weakest point of the legs above the ankles.

rising with the Aveline of the new life. The typical tomb effigy thus suggested the passing of the soul, and the putting underfoot of the things of this life. St. Louis, when dying, had the Crown of Thorns placed at his head and the crown of France placed at his feet.

In 1347 Thomas Chaucombe, *le ymaginarius*, of London, died, and left to his son William all the tools of his craft. And in the fatal year, 1349, John de Mymms, *ymaginour*, died and left tenements in St. Mildred's, Poultry.* In 1348 John Toft, "mason," was carving at St. Stephen's, at 6d. a day; and from 1351 to 1358 William de Padrington, "mason," was working at St. Stephen's. He was paid for stones for an image of St. Stephen, and for two images of men-at-arms, and 6s. 8d. each for making twenty angels by task-work; also £1. 6s. 8d. for an image, in stone found by himself, of John le Wayte; also £8 for making three kings to stand in tabernacles; and £8 for making two images of men-at-arms; and £4. 8s. for making eleven images for the stalls.† In the Archer Collection at the British Museum is an excellent drawing of a small sculptured head found at St. Stephen's, of the very finest type of this middle period.

William de Lyndesey, a carver of wooden images, of London, was paid in 1367 for a "table" (reredos) with wooden images for the chapel in Windsor Castle; he also received ten marks as a gift, a very handsome one.‡

* Sharpe's "Cal. of Wills." † J. T. Smith. ‡ Issue Roll.

Hawkin of Liège.

The tomb and effigy of Queen Philippa, who died in 1369, is wholly of black and white marble, and the effigy is not in alabaster as often stated. It resembles Flemish work, and it has been found that Hawkin Liège of France, was paid £133. 6s. 8d. (200 marks) for the work in 1367.* This Hennequin de Liège was a famous sculptor, working in Paris in the middle of the fourteenth century ; he was a pupil of Jean Pepin de Huy. It is said that only one other work of his has been preserved, the statue of Blanche of France at St. Denis, and he died before it was completed. The combination of black and white marble was at that time the popular fashion in French tombs.†

Ten years later railings were put to the tomb, and John Orchard, "latoner" (not stonemason as usually said, but bronze worker), was paid for making six figures of angels for it.

Scott gives a good account of this tomb. The white marble effigy, a portrait evidently, was decorated with patterns in gold, coloured glass jewels, and with beads on the head-dress. Mr. J. T. Irvine "found that the little traceried windows in the canopy over the head of the queen had had a thick plate of deep blue grass placed behind them as a sort of ground." The weepers around the side and their canopies had all been broken away where exposed, but about 1850 Scott cut into the base of Henry V.'s tomb "and brought to light the whole design, including two niche figures, and one exqui-

* 40 Edward III. Haukino Liège de Francia pro factura tombe Philippe.

† S. Lami, "Dict. Sculpt. Français," 1898.

site little angel, one of the many which adorned the tabernacle work." He also found one of the canopies, and other fragments "on the chimney-piece of Mr. Cottingham's office." These, with some other fragments which were at the Abbey, were refixed in position, and Mr. Cundy, the Abbey mason, made a restored model of one end with figures by Mr. Philip and decorations by Willement.* This model is now at South Kensington Museum, and it shows the position of the little angel spoken of above, which, in another place, Scott says had wings of gilt metal. It was afterwards stolen, but a cast had been made. What became of the cast? The two weepers found by Scott still remain within a protecting grating, one of a lady, with a hawk or puppy in her hand, is, I think, uninjured—the other has lost its head; this was broken off while opening out the work, and was afterwards stolen, but a cast had been made from it by Scott, which is probably the cast now in a case in the Chapter House. If this head were found to fit, and the whole were photographed, we should at least have a record of two of these figures—they are, of course, decaying while exposed to the air but undusted. These figures had gilt patterns on their draperies, the hair was gilt, the eyes were touched with blue, the lips with red.†

All the coats of arms once beneath these figures are tricked in the Lansdown MS. 874. Sandford's

* "Recollections," p. 164.

† These figures, now in utter darkness and never seen, should probably be removed to a place where they might be protected under glass.

engraving shows the queen's hands and crown, both now broken away. In Coney's etching of the chapel the iron railings, which protected the tomb towards the ambulatory, appear. They came from old St. Paul's, as described in "Gleanings." In the Tufton Street Museum is a standard so much like these that I think it may be one of them.

It is evident that the tomb was commissioned some years before the queen's death, and was added to in Edward's last year. At this time Orchard was also paid 20s. for "two images of alabaster, placed upon a small marble tomb, for the infant son and daughter of the queen." This, it is well known, must refer to the tomb of William of Windsor and Blanche, in St. Edmund's Chapel; 20s. can hardly have paid for them; it probably had reference to incidental expenses. There can not be a doubt that these little figures were wrought by the same hand which did a similar small tomb in York Cathedral. Both are probably Nottingham work.

Before 1368 Peter Macon, of Nottingham, made a great alabaster "table" for the High Altar of the chapel in Windsor Castle at a cost of £200. It was an elaborate reredos, and was carried in many carts to Windsor from Nottingham. In 1376 Cardinal Langham died. We have seen that Yevele the mason was concerned with the erection of his tomb. The fine effigy of alabaster is also probably Nottingham work. It is decorated with inlays of blue glass, and was heightened with painting. The coats of arms on the tomb still show colour and gilding. English alabaster work became

very fashionable in the fourteenth century.* In 1382 some large alabaster images were exported from Southampton,† and a good deal of later work is still to be found in France.

Westminster Hall.

At Westminster Hall, in 1395–6, Robert Brasington was sculpturing angels bearing shields, and John Wotton and William Hall were also carving there. In 1398–9 William Cleuddere and John Aldwich were engaged there. The former sculptured four images and some pinnacles. These images may be four of the six kings which stood in niches, three on each side of the south window ; they are shown in Sandford's view of the Hall ; and from Carter's detailed etchings we can identify three of them with as many large figures now in the Architectural Museum, Tufton Street. Of large scale, and rough in treatment, they would just suit the dim light where they were placed. They are finished with a claw tool. The other three seem to have been put back in the Hall, where, as far as can be seen, two or three look old.

Henry V.'s Chantry.

Henry the Fifth's Chantry is adorned with several statues. Above, in the reredos of the chapel of the Annunciation, are six figures in niches, and a seventh, probably Christ as judge, is destroyed. Right and left of its empty niche are figures which together represent the Annunciation. Next to these, again, are two kings, the one to the right, Edward the Confessor

* See *Archæological Journal*, 1904. † Rymer.

with the ring, and the one to the left, St. Edmund. The two end figures are the patron saints of England and France—St. George, a fine armed knight, and St. Denis, carrying his head. At the east end of Henry the *Seventh's* Chapel the three central images are Christ with the Virgin and Announcing Angel. The pair forming the Annunciation so closely resembles the similar subject in Henry the Fifth's Chantry that we may say that one was copied from the other. It follows that the central figure was also probably copied. On the western face of the chantry are also several figures. Above, in the middle, two kings holding buildings in their hands, are possibly King Sebert, the mythical first founder of the Church, and Henry III.* Below are two bishops or mitred abbots (SS. Wulsin and Dunstan ?) On the staircases above the doors are two important figures, one of whom is a king with his right hand raised, and the other is an aged man with a wide pilgrim's hat hanging behind his head. These must represent the Confessor giving his ring to St. John disguised as a pilgrim. Other statues are of deacons, one to the right, probably St. Stephen, while on the left is a virgin martyr, probably St. Catharine. Facing north and south are two ecclesiastics, and two pretty little figures, one St. Barbara.†

None of the later tomb effigies are of special mark. That of the Duchess of York in St. Ed-

* Or Henry III. and Henry V. himself, the latter as the builder of the nave of the church

† For Henry VII.'s Chapel, see p. 229.

mund's Chapel is the best. If we would see what fine sculpture was still being wrought in the middle of the fifteenth century we cannot do better than examine the tomb of the Duchess of Clarence and her two husbands in the south transeptal chapel of Canterbury Cathedral. Here, by a refinement, or a trick, the white linen kerchief of the lady, and the robes of the angels, are finished *white* with a comb, in contrast to the rest of the polished surfaces. The alabaster effigies of Sir Giles Daubigny and his wife (1507) in the Abbey are not nearly so fine, but they were all probably wrought at Nottingham.

The following alabaster men of Nottingham are named from about 1480: Nicholas Godeman (1479), Nicholas Hill (1491), Thomas Hill (1496–1502), John Lingard (1495), Walter Hylton (1496), Richard Starky (1529).

Fig. 78.—Head in Triforium

CHAPTER XIII

PAINTERS OF THE WESTMINSTER SCHOOL

Master William : Master Walter : The Retable : Coronation Chair : Tombs : Sedilia : Chapter House : Portrait of Richard II. : Apocalypse Series.

The earliest London painter I have found named is Henry, the painter, who lived about 1190 in a stone built house belonging to St. Paul's.* Three painters working for Henry III. about 1240 were Master William at St. Swithin's, Winchester (to whom we shall return below), Thomas, the painter, of Chertsey, who made images for Windsor in 1241, and Master Nigel, painter, working at Winchester Castle in 1245.

Master William.

Three other painters, of whom the names are well-known, are heard of a few years later. These are John of St. Omer, Peter of Hispania, and William of Florence. The first seems to have been a Frenchman, the second a Spaniard, and the third an Italian. The gathering together of so many painters shows what a culture-centre Westminster must have been at this time, and we shall be as justified in speaking of the School of Westminster as of the School of Siena.

In 1249 John of St. Omer was commissioned to execute an important piece of work for our church. He was then ordered by the king to make a lectern for the new Chapter House like one at St.

* Cal. St. Paul's Documents.

Fig. 79.—Painted Altar-piece of St. Faith's Chapel.

Alban's, only better if it could be. In the Fabric Roll of 1253 we find that he was then still engaged at St. Alban's with a carpenter and assistant.* In 1272 he painted the king's wardrobe, and his name occurs so late as 1293.

Peter of Spain's name also appears in the Roll of 1253 as engaged on work for the church, and at some time before 1272 he painted two "tables" for the altar of the Lady Chapel. In 1260 "Peter, the king's painter," received a robe of office.

William of Florence was engaged at the king's castle of Guildford from 1259, and in 1278 he was addressed as "keeper of the works and our painter."

The most famous of these early painters of the Westminster School was the other Master William named above, who is frequently mentioned in the orders and rolls of Henry III., from about 1240 to 1280. He is called "Master William, a monk of Westminster" and "Our beloved Painter." ‡

In 1256 he is referred to as Master William, lately of Winchester.§ In 1251 the king ordered that Master William should paint the newly-built cloisters at Windsor with the Apostles. A head of a king of remarkable early work still exists there, and has been protected by glass; this we may, I think, assign to Master William.

* Mr. Page is surely in error when he says that over one hundred men were engaged on this work. The documents to which he refers are concerned with the Westminster *church*, and the work at St. Alban's was only an item. *Archæologia*, lviii. † Close Rolls.

‡ See Walpole, Rokewode, Hudson Turner, and "Gleanings."

§ He had been made painter of St. Swithin's while it was in the King's hands.

There is in the chapel of St. Faith, at the Abbey, an altar-piece evidently painted about 1260–65 as its first decoration. (Fig. 79.) On the left, in the attitude in which the artist or donor of a work was usually represented, is a small figure of a kneeling Benedictine monk; this is most probably Master William, at once the painter and the donor. (Fig. 80.) He was paid for work at Westminster Palace in 1256, and in 1259 John, the king's mason, was commanded to take "to the house in which William, the king's painter, works," the Cross of the Infirmary of the Abbey.*

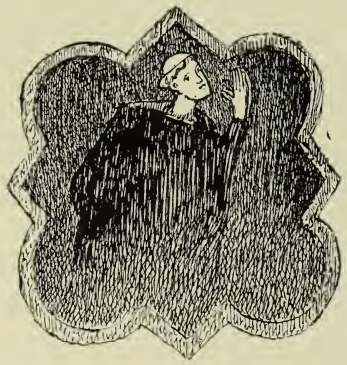


Fig. 80.—Painted figure of donor, at side of painting Fig. 79

The painting of St. Faith is the most remarkable early Gothic wall-painting now remaining to us. Within a painted niche stands a female figure in a swaying attitude, gracefully draped, and more than tall. The colour, when it can occasionally he seen on a summer afternoon, is beautiful; her mantle of rose-purple is lined with miniver; the face is quiet but full of passion, and the hands are well drawn. She holds a book and a gridiron, and wears a crown, emblems of the rule, trials, and reward of faith. Beneath, in small panels (eight-pointed interlocking-squares in form), were other paintings; on the central panel the Crucifixion with figures of Mary and John. From the praying monk, and

* Close Rolls, 43 Henry III., M. 12.

slanting up towards the saint's figure, is inscribed a prayer. The painting, which is done with swift, sweeping touches, is in true tempera, and it has never received the attention it deserves.*

Master Walter.

Master William was succeeded by an equally celebrated artist, Master Walter of Durham, also king's painter to Henry III., who, from 1262, decorated the famous Painted Chamber of the palace.† He was still working for Edward I. at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the accounts for the burial of Alianor we find that he painted the tester over her tomb in the church about 1292.‡ The painting on the basement of the same tomb, of which a mere stain still exists, must also be this master's work. It showed, in the middle, a closed tomb, with a group of mourners at the left, and at the right a knight (Edward I ?) kneeling before the Virgin and the Holy Child. Without a clue it would be impossible now to decipher more than the shadowy forms of four figures on the left, but such a clue is supplied by a drawing of the knight by Kerrich in the British Museum. Dart also described it nearly two centuries ago : "There yet appears," he says, "a sepulchre, at the foot of which are two monks ;§ at the head is a knight, armed, and a

* Such tempera is entirely different from the coarse distemper work of ordinary wall-paintings. Eggs, wine, oil, and varnish are mentioned with the colours in accounts for some of Master William's work. I have also seen marble dust mentioned, possibly for the grounds.

† I have given an account of this in the *Burlington Magazine*, 1905.

‡ *Archæologia*, xxix.

§ The others were then hidden by a tomb.

woman with a child in her arms." Kerrich was an accurate draughtsman, and his drawing shows that the kneeling knight was a beautiful figure ; his chain-mail was partly covered by a surcoat with

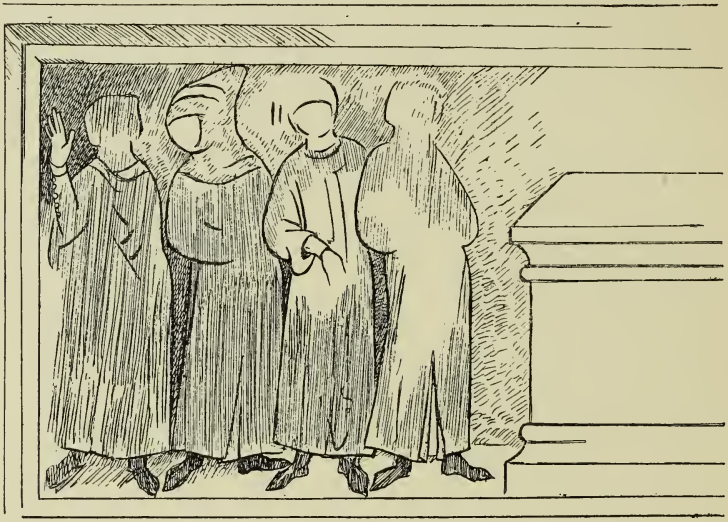


Fig. 81.—Painting on the Tomb of Queen Alianor

broad green and white vertical stripes crossed by a *bend* of scarlet. On taking a copy of this drawing to Westminster I found that the figure could still in great measure be traced ; moreover, it was evident that the " woman with the child " was seated on a low throne, and was the Virgin holding the Christ Child towards the knight. This I have found confirmed by another, rougher sketch in the Powell Collection in the British Museum, which shows the Virgin and Child clearly, with a note appended : " What I have here set down I could vouch for personally." As Burges pointed out, the group at the

foot of the tomb was of secular persons. The scarlet hood of one, and a row of buttons on the sleeve of another, can still be seen. The meaning, I think, must be that the king, (in his habit of a

Fig. 82.—Continuation of the last

crusader ?) prays to the Virgin for the soul of Alianor, while all kinds of people mourned at her tomb. A contemporary writer says of her: "Anglicorum omnium amatrix." I have made a restoration from all the evidence in Figs. 81 and 82.

The Retable.

The most beautiful thirteenth-century painting in England is the Westminster altar retable now in the Jerusalem Chamber. It is decorated with glass inlays and jewels, and is made to resemble a piece of enamelled gold-work. From some ornamental

borders imitated from Cufic writing which occur on it, and which are frequently found in French work, I had thought that we must suppose that this altar-piece was brought from France, but Mr. S. C. Cockerell has recently shown that similar ornaments are found in the Winchester Bible, which is certainly of English work, and much earlier than the retable.* If we once get over this point, there are so many resemblances between it and the work of Master Walter at the Painted Chamber that we may fairly assign it to this master—thus, the curious flat bosses of the ceiling were similar to the boss-like forms on the retable ; and in the Chamber inlays of glass and spandrels of blue glass, like those of the retable, were represented. On the ceiling, as on the retable, larger brooch-shaped bosses alternated with smaller ones, and when we are told that the ceiling of the Chamber was painted in compartments, I suspect that the forms of the interlocking squares of the retable were copied there, and it is probable that the bosses were set with coloured glass like the retable. We may at least say with certainty that the altar-piece was known to the master of the Painted Chamber.

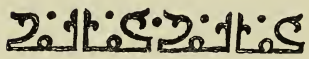


Fig. 83.—"Cufic decoration" from an English MS. Bible, Corpus College, Cambridge

In the middle panel of the retable stands Christ in majesty holding the universe in His hand. Right and left are the Virgin and St. John, each

* A specimen of this kind of decoration from a book at Cambridge is shown in Fig. 83.

holding a palm branch. Hers must be that which was brought to her at the announcement of her death, and his that of martyrdom. The small intermediate panels contain beautifully executed miniatures of the miracles. One of the end panels represents St. Peter, the other is destroyed, and may have represented the Confessor—or possibly St. Paul. The field between the panels which contain the paintings is filled with pieces of blue glass with branches of vine and oak raised on it in gilt gesso. In other places strips of glass are inlaid over painting upon gold which results in a close imitation of enamel, and the frame is set with imitation gems. The background of the central tabernacle is a true mosaic of little morsels of glass of two colours shaped into octagons and squares. Amongst the gesso diapers on the columns there is one of lions and eagles set in interlocking squares, which is identical with the decoration on the surcoat of Edmund Crouchback's effigy, and this supports the theory of the Westminster origin of the work. See also Fig. 85.

The Coronation Chair.

From the wardrobe accounts of 1300–1 we learn that the Coronation Chair was the work of Master Walter, the "king's painter" to Edward I. A close examination still shows that the whole surface was covered with flat gesso gilt upon which patterns were embroidered, as it were, by lines of punched dots. It was drawn and described by Carter. On the "back" was the seated figure of a king. Burges had the fragment of this, which was all that

remained a generation since, carefully drawn. The engraving in "Gleanings" shows that the feet of the king rested on a lion. (Fig. 84.) The subject represented must have been Edward I. himself or the Confessor. The rest of the chair inside and behind was patterned with pricked diapers and foliage, much of which, I find, has survived even the last varnishing; two or three more varnishings, however, will obliterate it. Inside the dexter arm is a diaper enclosing animals; the opposite surface is covered with a beautiful pattern of birds amongst oak foliage, "redbreasts, and falcons," Carter says. This and the diaper were figured by Burges, but the pattern is much larger than I had supposed from his woodcut, which is only a fourth or fifth of full size.*

Fig. 84.—Restoration of painting on Coronation Chair

The four narrow panels outside the sinister arm are covered with designs of thorn, ivy, vine, and possibly maple, and similar work filled the panels behind. The little spandrels between the cusped

* The full-size drawings prepared for Burges belong to the Society of Antiquaries.

heads of these panels and the tracery of the gable behind were evidently filled with inlays of glass. Carter fortunately drew one of these, and says: "The spandrels were decorated with small sprays painted on a metal ground [gold or silver foil] and covered with glass, as may yet be seen in three or four places." And there was similar decoration on the front face of the gable. Early in last century the "old crockets and turrets at the back were sawn off," in preparation for a coronation.* The lions beneath the chair are modern.

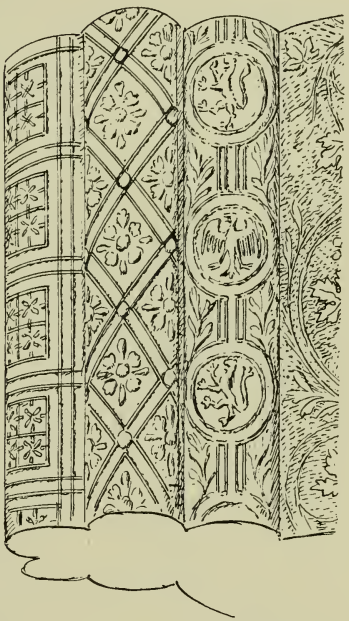


Fig. 85.—Gesso decoration on the Jamb of the tomb of Aveline

Tombs. The three remarkable tombs on the north side of the presbytery were probably decorated early in the fourteenth century. Aveline's tomb was entirely covered with gilding and painting. (Figs. 85, 86 and 87.) The carvings and weepers were gilt, and the image was fully painted. There are yet some traces of painting on the pillow, being arms set in lozenges, painted in transparent lacquer colours over a gold ground, giving the effect of translucent enamel, which I have not seen elsewhere. The tomb of her

* Neale, ii. 304.

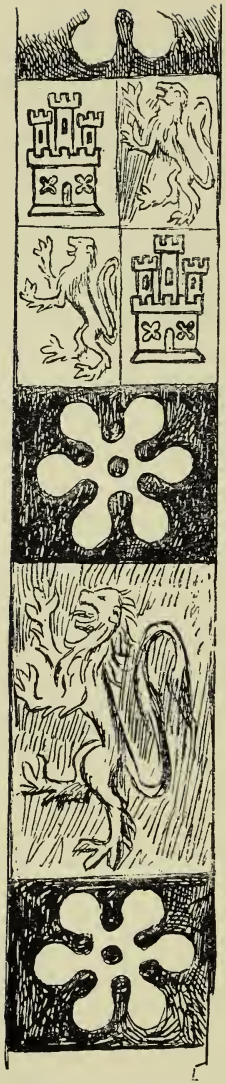


Fig. 86.—Decoration of Arch-moulding

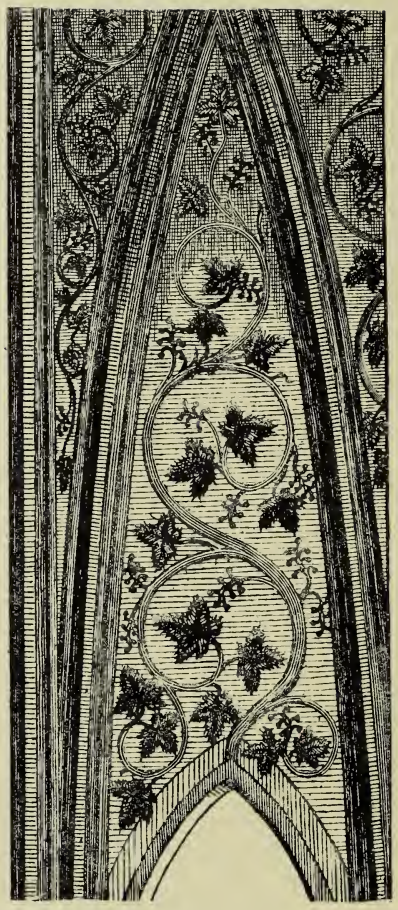


Fig. 87.—Painted decoration on vault of Aveline's tomb. From *Vetusta Monumenta*

husband, Edmund, was still more splendid, for large use was made of enamel-like patterns painted on gold, recessed in little panels, and covered with glass. Many of the patterns can still be seen, but several years ago only one tiny morsel of glass, half an inch big, remained. The figure was not only painted, but the drapery was diapered all over with a delicate pattern. This effigy and the neighbouring one of Aymer, have now no shields ; it is possible that they were originally separate works of enamel like the shield of William de Valence. The mouldings of the architectural framework of Edmund's tomb were simply covered with raised gesso patterns and armorial bearings alternating with roses. Dart says that the ground of the pediment was blue set with fleurs-de-lys. The inside of the canopy proper was " a sky set with stars." The mouldings and sculptures of the tomb proper were entirely gilt ; the hollows and recesses were coloured bright red and green. The shields above the weepers have the bearings modelled in gesso. (Fig. 88.) The outer basement had a painting of a row of knights holding banners of which a small coloured engraving was published by Carter. Stothard's original drawings of the tombs are now in the British Museum, and amongst them I have found

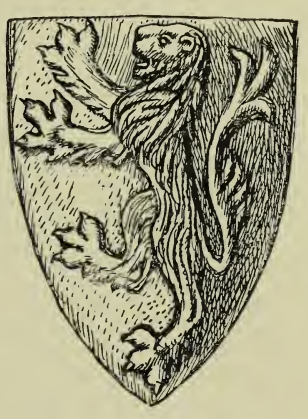


Fig. 88.—Small Shield with lion in gesso from Crouchback's tomb

outlines of these figures, accurate as photographs.* (Fig. 89.)

Stothard has published admirable coloured en-

Fig. 89.—Part of painting from basement of Crouchback's tomb

gravings of the effigies of Aveline, Crouchback, and Aymer de Valence. Some further particulars as to the latter appear in a drawing in the Powell

* Comparing the heraldic coats as shown by both artists, one or two of them can be identified. 1 is Red with a saltire ; 2, Paly red and white with a Bend ; 3, Red with a white Cross ; 4, Checky a canton ermine (Dreux) ; 5, Blue a Lion rampant gold or silver with a red Bend over all ; 6, Checky blue and white a red Fess (Clifford) ; 7, Gules a Cross pateé (Albemarle).

Collection. Not only was the tunic barred with blue, but it had the red martlets of Valence ; and the pillow was covered with lozenges bearing the Valence and Chastillon arms.

The Sedilia.

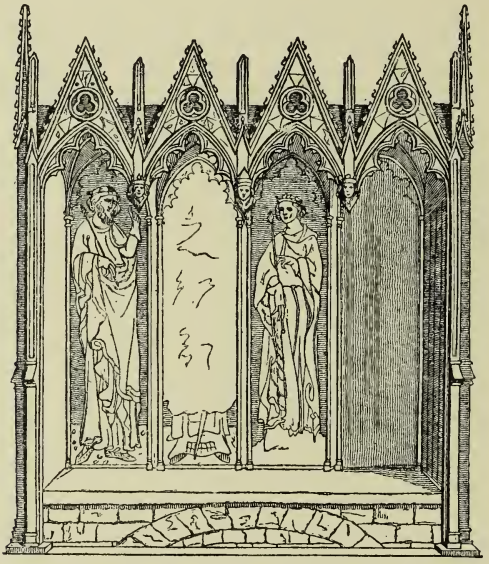
The seats of the priests on the south of the presbytery are of wood, but they were decorated in harmony with the opposite tombs. (Fig. 90.) The trefoils of the gable fronts were set with red glass over a gold ground ; the spandrels were plated with blue glass on silver foil. The mouldings and carving were gilt, parts being burnished. The hollows were bright scarlet. * The corbel heads were set with imitation jewels. In the large panels—four within and four facing the ambulatory—there were originally eight large figures. The four on the outside represented, as we know from early descriptions, Sebert and St. Peter, and the Confessor giving his ring to St. John.† Traces of the figure of the Confessor, with his extended hand holding the ring, can still be seen, but the others have been destroyed.‡ On the

* See Ayloffe, in "Vetusta Monumenta," 1780. The original drawings for this account, dated 1775, are at the Society of Antiquaries.

† Dart.

‡ A rough engraving of the figure of the Confessor is given by Dart, and a better version by Malcolm. At first sight it seems to have disappeared, but on closer examination the upper part of the figure can be made out and traces can be followed down to the feet, which come down to the bottom of the panel. The head, with its long white beard, is fine ; the hands are gloved; the left holds a sceptre, the uplifted right the ring ; the tunic is green, the mantle (purple, I think) is fur lined. A copy could still be made by an expert.

inside were two kings, an abbot or bishop, and another figure now destroyed. The kings are still in fair preservation, and are, in every way, remarkable works, and most probably represent Henry III. and Edward I., the latter of whom died the year



ANCIENT ENCLOSURE NEAR THE HIGH ALTAR OF THE ABBEY CHURCH.

Fig. 90.—The Sedilia in 1821. After Harding

before the sedilia were erected in 1308. These figures were very carefully drawn by G. P. Harding in 1821. They are about 8 ft. high, and their heads and hands are very well drawn. Both have their mantles lined with fur and both wear gloves. One is an old man, grey bearded, the other younger and beardless. The red background to the younger king is powdered with little heraldic leopards, which proves him to be an English king, and I

FIG. 91.—Figure from Sedilia. Drawn in 1775.
Vetusta Monumenta

think a then recent one. The other king, to the left, bears a type of sceptre, which seems to suggest that he was a builder (compare Offa in Nero D. 5). As the other two founders—Sebert and the Confessor—were painted outside, we may confidently call this King Henry III. (Fig. 91.) The accounts

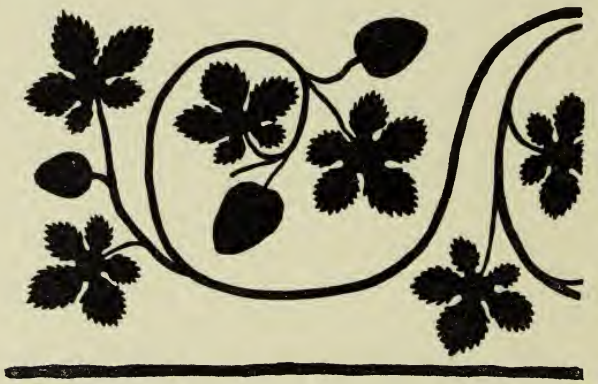


Fig. 92.—Painting on Soffite of arch above Sebert's tomb

of the Painted Chamber in the palace show that Master Thomas, son of Walter, the painter, was working there with him in 1307; and as Walter was now a very old man, we may, with probability, give the credit for the sedilia to Master Thomas, who appears to have succeeded his father as king's painter.

In an account at the British Museum for work at St. Stephen's and "La Blanche Chambre," Master Thomas of Westminster is called "painter to the works." * Mr. Page has recently shown that a Master Walter, a painter, living in Bowgate,

* Add. 30263.

St. Albans, had, as next door neighbour, one Thomas, the painter (living in 1290); these he suggests are Walter and his son who painted at Westminster. This Thomas, he says, died early in the fourteenth century. This coincidence is remarkable and the theory possible.*

Master William seems to have received as much as 2s. a day, Master Walter received 1s., and his son, while working under him as assistant, had 6d. Painting stood just on a level with the other arts, from masonry to tailoring, but I believe they did not then laugh at tailors.

Other Painters.

In the Roll for Works at the Painted Chamber, 1292–4, the name of Richard de Stokwell appears as working under Master Walter, and receiving 6d. a day.† I find him mentioned again in a will of 1338. In this year he was one of eight "best men," of his ward of Cripplegate, appointed to "patrol the City day and night to preserve the King's Peace."‡ In 1349 he died.§

In 1274 Master Stephen, the king's painter, redecorated Westminster Hall. Towards the end of the XIIIth century Abbot John de Northwold, of Bury St. Edmund's (1279–1301), "had the choir made and painted by the hands of a certain monk of his, John Wodecroft, a painter of our Lord the King."‖

John Albon was king's painter to Edward II. in

* *Archæologia*, lviii. † Rokewode.
‡ Letter Book F. § Sharpe's "Wills."
‖ Dr. M. R. James. "The Abbey of St. Edmund."

1326, when he painted a book of heraldry for the king. He seems to have been a *persona grata* to the foolish king, for in this same year *Jak de St. Albon, peyntr le Roi*, danced before the king on a table and made him very greatly laugh.

John, a canon of St. Katherine's by the Tower, "the king's picture painter" (Edward III's.), was paid in 1354 and 1366 for painting "tables" of images for the chapel at Windsor.*

William Burdon, the painter, and his assistants were painting and gilding the Rose Tower at Windsor in 1366 at 1s. a day, and the next year William de Burden, "the king's painter," was working on a costly "great tablet" for the altar in the chapel.† This must be the reredos mentioned on another page (p. 253).

Chapter House.

The paintings next in order are those which filled the eastern stalls of the Chapter House, and of which only some fine heads now remain, and also a record of the general composition made when they were first discovered about a century ago. The paintings belonged to the period when important decorations were being painted in St. Stephen's Chapel under the direction of Master Hugh of St. Albans, king's painter. They are particularly interesting in that the heads, which are remarkably fine, show distinct Italian influence. The subject was Christ as Judge surrounded by adoring angels.

These paintings were fully described by Mr. Waller in 1873. In the centre was Christ seated

* Issue Roll. † Tighe and Davis.

on the celestial globe, blue spotted with stars, His feet resting on the lesser globe of the earth ; a crimson robe was draped about Him, and with raised hand He called attention to His wounds. Above, four angels' heads appeared over a curtain which they lifted behind Christ. Right and left were two standing angels in white. The one on the proper right held a T cross, nails, and the spear—the one on the left, the scourge and reed with the sponge. In the compartment on the proper right of the centre was a cherubin with six wings, with extended hand holding a crown, and another object in the other hand from which depended two strings, probably a seal. His feet were on the sun, or a rayed wheel, which flamed about them. The cherubin on the left was similar, but held two crowns, and the feathers of his wings were inscribed with the names of beatitudes. The two outer bays were filled by rows of adoring angels, and similar angels filled up the background of the three central bays. These paintings were only discovered in 1801. An attempt has been made to preserve them, but since "treatment" they have almost entirely perished, and we have no copies of them except Carter's small sketch which shows the general composition. They have been well described by Sir Charles Eastlake, who assigned them to the middle of the fourteenth century ; and J. T. Smith says that he was persuaded that they were executed by the same artists who painted St. Stephen's Chapel. A few years ago I was able to read parts of the inscriptions on the plumes of the wings of the angel on the right—Simplicitas,

Humilitas, &c. The nimbuses are gilt and patterned with thick black lines. The mantle of Christ was bordered with a pattern in gold and had a clasp of gilt gesso.

Portrait of Richard II. &c.

We next come to that extraordinary work, the portrait of Richard II. now hanging in the presbytery. This picture used, as we have seen on p. 24, to occupy a place at the back of the east stall in the southern row. We have just said that the kings of the sedilia were probably Henry III. and Edward I., and this judgment seems to be confirmed by the position in the choir of this portrait of Richard II. This painting, and another on the tester of his queen's tomb, is referred to in the Issue Roll 19 Richard II. thus: "To Master Peter, Sacrist of the Church of the Blessed Peter, Westminster. In money paid him by the hand of John Haxey in discharge of £20 which the Lord King commanded to be paid to him, as well for painting the covering of the tomb of Anne, late Queen of England, buried within the said church, as for the removal of a tomb near the tomb of the said queen; also for painting the said tomb so removed, and for the picture of a certain image portrayed in the similitude of a king in the choir of the church."* The *contrefacte* of this entry has been translated in "Gleanings," "to correspond with another placed opposite," but, as Mr. St. John Hope has suggested to me, it must be the Latin form of the word *con-*

* Pro pictura uniusymaginis ad similitudinem unius regis contrefacte in choro ecclesiæ. Issue, Pells, 19 Richard II.

trefait used of a portrait, and which, as we see on p. 290, appears in a contract for the images of Richard's tomb. In the album of Villars de Honnecourt we find a drawing of a lion which the artist says was *contrefait a vif.*

The most considerable painter I can find named as working in London at this time was Herebrecht of Cologne, "citizen of London and painter," who, in 1398, was engaged in painting a splendid altar-piece for St. Paul's, where he was still engaged in 1403.* It is possible that he was the painter of the portrait. It is a magnificent work in design, execution, and deep, full colour. It was painted on a patterned background of raised and gilt gesso-work, which unfortunately was restored away when the picture was cleaned by experts. It must be the finest fourteenth-century portrait existing in Europe. Fortunately there is preserved at the South Kensington Art Library a photograph of this precious work before the decorated background was removed.† (See note on p. 283.)

The canopy over the tomb of Richard has also a background of gilt gesso-work, and there can hardly be a doubt that it is by the same hand. The subjects are Christ in Majesty, the Coronation of the Virgin, and two pairs of angels supporting shields of arms. It is in every way a remarkable work. (Figs. 93 and 94.)

On the blank wall in the south triforium, by the muniment room, is a large, rough, distemper painting of the badge of Richard II., a white hart, now much defaced.

* Cal. St. Paul's Documents. † Mr. E. F. Strange showed me this.

An account is preserved at the Abbey for the making of Abbot Littlington's great missal, a

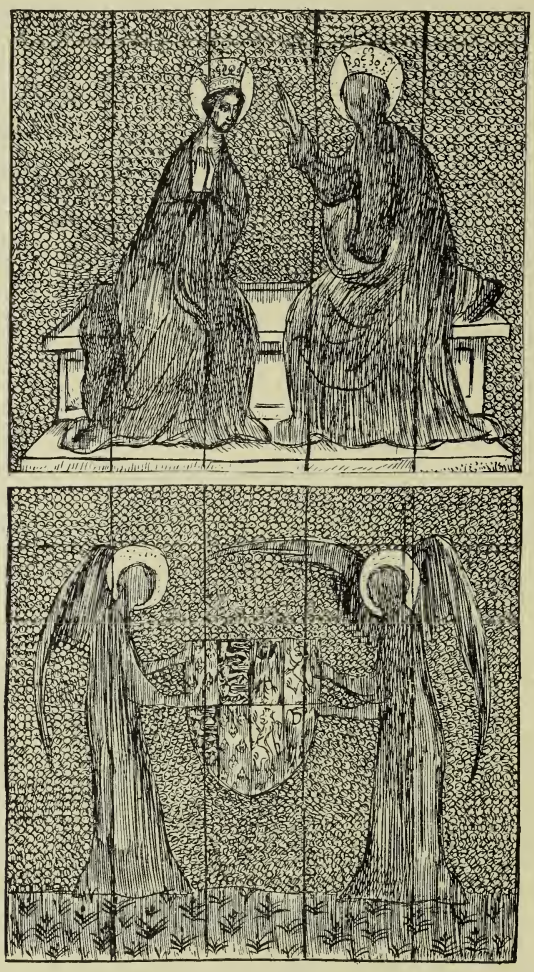


Fig. 93.—One-half of Canopy over tomb of Richard II.

beautiful illuminated book now exhibited in the Chapter House. Thomas Preston received £4,

and 20s. worth of cloth for two years' labour in writing the missal. The large illuminated letters

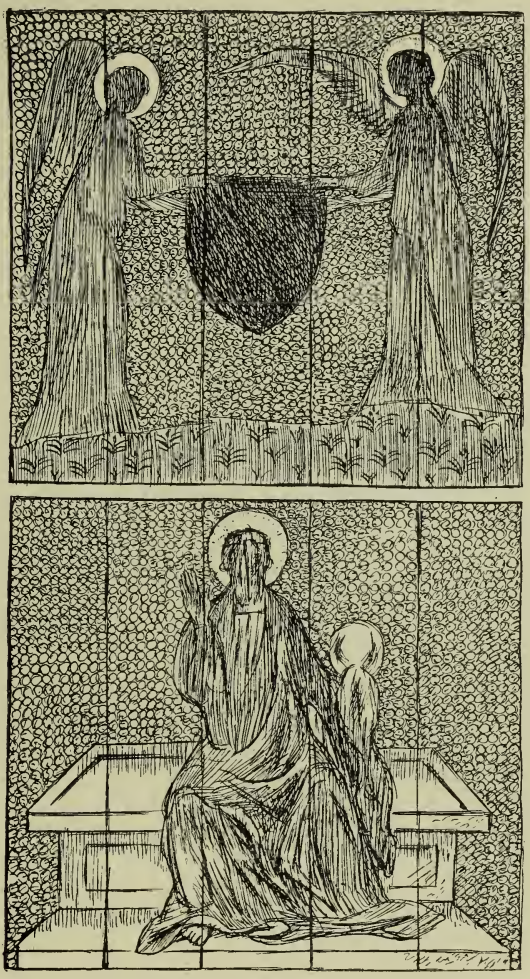


Fig. 94.—Other half of Canopy over tomb of Richard II.

cost no less than £22, the whole cost being £34 14s. 7d. It was completed in 1384.

APOCALYPSE SERIES

Several works painted in the church, at the end of the fourteenth century and later, are named in a document given in the Appendix of Stanley's "Memorials."*

Apocalypse Series.

Brother John of Northampton in the time of Edward IV., caused the series from the Apocalypse, still existing in the Chapter House, to be painted. These paintings are arranged in bands in the wall-arcade with great decorative skill, and the general colour is quite beautiful. The inscribed labels between the pictures are written on paper and stuck to the wall. The series shows us St. John in Patmos and prostrate before the vision of the Majesty. We see him writing his messages to the churches, which are represented as seven buildings. An angel stands in the door of each one. Christ is represented between the golden candlesticks, a sword in His mouth, and the Elders cast down their crowns. The heads of the arches contain pretty half figures of angels: at the bottom of each panel animals were painted, such as the dromedary, camel, and reindeer; this last has faded very much, or has been washed out since I made a sketch from it ten or twelve years ago. According to Mr. Waller's paper on these paintings,† animals were formerly visible inscribed: reynder, ro, wild ass, tame ass, dromedary, kameyl, lyon; and on the riser of the top step were creatures of the sea.

Some still later paintings, which once decorated

* Third Edition.

† London and Middlesex Archæological Society, 1873.

Islip's Chapel, are shown on the Roll on which the ceremonies of his burial are depicted. In the upper chapel was a large Crucifixion with the Doom above. According to Weever: "In the Chapel of St. Erasmus" (so he calls it), "where he (Islip) lieth buried, upon the wall over his tomb, was the picture of Christ on the Cross seeming to give counsel to mankind" (in Latin verses which are given).

"Under was the picture of the Abbot" praying thus in old poetry:

> En cruce qui pendis Islip miserere Johannis
> Sanguine perfuso reparasti quem pretioso.

* Weever, "from old MS."

Note.—Some years ago Mr. S. C. Cockerell mentioned to me that he thought that the Portrait of Richard II. might be by Andrien Beauneven, of Valenciennes, painter to Charles V., who Froissart said painted in England as well as in France. Some drawings, which Mr. Roger Fry has recently shown are probably from his hand, are so like the portrait in style that I am now prepared to accept Mr. Cockerell's suggestion.

I have spoken on p. 276 of Italian influence in paintings executed by, or in the time of, Master Hugh. Now in French inventories of this time paintings of Lombardy are mentioned as precious things, and I find in the will of our master, "Hugh Payntour," that in 1361 he left a splendid North Italian painting (unam tabulam de VII peces de Lumbardy) which had cost him £20. (Sharpe's; Wills.)

CHAPTER XIV

METAL WORKERS AND GLAZIERS

Bronze Founders : Goldsmiths : Blacksmiths: Plumbers and other Craftsmen : Glaziers.

Bronze founders.

The bronze effigies of Henry III. and Alianor of Castile, which lie on their tombs on the north side of the Confessor's Chapel, are the most beautiful Gothic sculptures in the church or in England ; indeed, of the effigy of Alianor especially, it may be questioned from the mere concurrence of three accidents—the subject, a beautiful queen ; the moment, the very apogee of Gothic art ; and the noble material, gilt bronze—whether all Europe can show such another.

The figures were both being made in 1291 by Master William Torel, goldsmith of London.* From an entry in the Close Roll of this year we can tell the very day when the model was approved and the casting ordered for the statue of the king.† There were two other similar images of the queen placed at Blackfriars and at Lincoln, and Torel seems to have received £113 6s. 8d. for the three.

Wykes has recorded how Henry III. was first buried in the old tomb of the Confessor. His body

* "Gleanings," p. 148. It is possible that the queen's effigy was begun during her lifetime. *Ibid.* p. 154.

† Order to deliver to William Torel, the maker of the laton effigy (*imaginis . . . de latuno*) of the late king, the necessaries for making it. And to pay William Sprot and John de Ware, for obtaining the metal required. Cal. Close Rolls.

was probably translated into the new tomb in 1292, as in that year his heart was given to the Abbey of Fontevrault. Some years ago, when the back of the bronze plate on which the figure of the king lies

Fig. 95.—Part of Bronze Effigy of Henry III.
From *Vetusta Monumenta*

was examined, three small figures were found scratched on the metal with the graver ; slight, yet done with a master's power. (Fig. 96.) On the right was a veiled queen, and a smaller figure of a nun, their hands uplifted in entreaty, and approaching a single figure on the left, incomplete

but dignified. This queen, it seems to me, must be Henry's widow, Eleanor of Provence, with one of her nuns of Amesbury, praying to the Virgin. (Fig. 96.) The queen did not die until June 1291. She had taken the veil (in

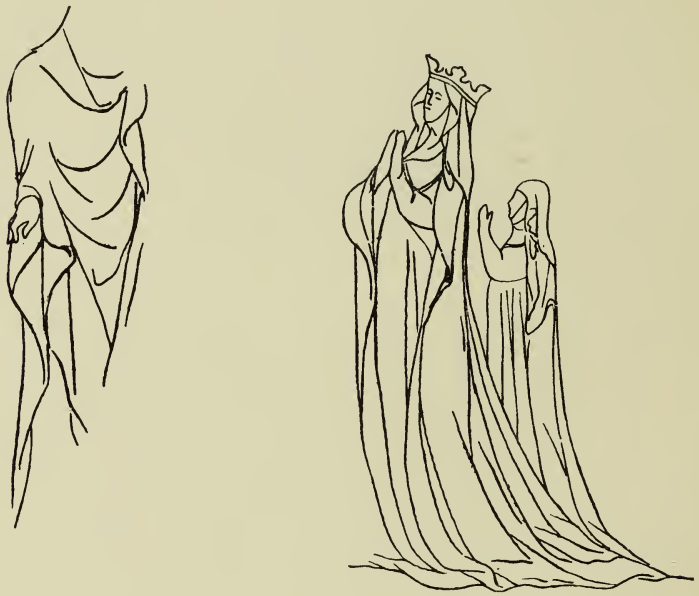


Fig. 96.—Figures engraved beneath Effigy of Henry III.

1284) at the same time as Mary, a daughter of Edward I., who we may suppose to be represented with her grandmother. I have found a reference to Master William Torel twelve years later than when he was engaged on the effigies. In 1303 the king's treasury at Westminster having been robbed, an inquiry was instituted by several juries, on one of which served William Torel, who

gave evidence that he had purchased of the accused, Richard Podlicote, two ruby rings.*

Over the head of the Queen's effigy is a canopy from which two pinnacles have been broken off, and from marks on the "table" it is evident that there were once small side-shafts, from which the arch of the canopy seemed to spring. A seal of Alianor is so much like her tomb in the design of the figure, the shields hung on a tree, and other points, that I cannot doubt that it is also the work of Torel. (Fig. 97.) In any case, we may say with certainty that the design of the effigy was influenced by the seal. In both the right hand of the queen holds a sceptre, the left the mantle strap ; in both castles and lions are set on the field, and there is much resemblance between the canopies.

Fig. 97.—Seal of Queen Alianor

In the monumental inscription which surrounds the effigy there used to be a lacuna caused by the angle of Henry V.'s chantry which covers it.

* The final verdict of the aldermen of London on this great case was that the sacristan and two monks contrived the burglary. That John Albon, "mazun," his man, and Podlicote broke into the treasury. The last was found, "seized" with coronets, cups, &c., of the value of £2200. The sacristan had a bowl of "unknown value." William Torel, Thomas de Frowick, and others bought objects in good faith. Letter Book C.

Some years ago enough of this was cut away to reveal the hidden portion, of which a plaster cast was taken and placed in the Chapter House. The whole reads :

+ ICI : GIST : ALIANOR : IADIS : REYNE : DE ENGLE-TERRE : FEMME : AL REY : EDEWARD : FIZ : LER [EY : HENRY : EFYLLE : ALREY : DE : ESPAYGNE : ECONTASSE : DE :] PVNTIF : DEL : ALME : DELI : DEV : PVR : SA : PITE : EYT : MERCI : AMEN :

Around the hems of her tunic and mantle, and

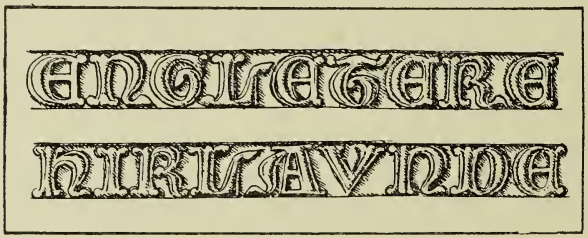


Fig. 98.—Part of inscription from tomb of Henry III.

on the strap of the latter, are small cavities which, it is thought, must have been filled with gems, and this is confirmed by an account for an earlier silver statue of the Princess Katharine, which has disappeared, for which precious stones were provided.*

The bronze statue of Edward III. is next in time.

* These effigies are probably the earliest ever cast in England. We may note that they were the work of a goldsmith, not a bronze founder. There is an earlier reference to two bronze lions in 1245, when Henry III. ordered Edward, his clerk, who had said that such would be only a little more costly than marble to have two brass leopards made to be placed on each side of the king's seat in the palace. In the fourteenth century the bronze founders formed an important craft. In 1347 Roger le latoner is mentioned, and in 1365 John de Lincoln and Robert in the Lane, founders, were sworn "to survey the mistery" Letter Book E.

The king died in 1377, and we have seen that in this year John Orchard, "latoner" (bronze-worker), provided some little figures for Queen Philippa's tomb. From the form of the accounts it is clear that he was at this time in the royal service, and, as the handsome effigy of the Black Prince (d. 1376), at Canterbury, must have been in hand at this moment, it is probably the work of Orchard. That his effigy should be of "laton" is directed in the prince's will of 1376. The effigy of Edward III. may also be Orchard's work; certainly the enamelled shields of both tombs are by the same artist. Edward III.'s effigy is inferior to that of his son, but that may be only in consequence of its being less costly. I find that in 1377 John Orchard and Richard Rook, of Knightsbridge, acquired a house and garden in Tothill Street, close to the Abbey gates, doubtless so as to be near work going on in the palace workshops.* The effigy of Edward III. is acknowledged by all to be a portrait. The bronze weepers which remain on the south side are also obviously likenesses. Those of the north side are lost, but the Lansdowne MS., 874, gives the arms of the enamelled shields which were once beneath them. Pretty little angels on the margin of the "table," on which the figure rests, should not escape notice. The figures of angels supplied for the queen's tomb may have been from the same mould.

The next bronze effigies which were placed in the church are those of Richard II. and Anne, his queen. The queen died in 1394, and was buried "on the feast of St. Anne next following with

* Bentley's Cartulary.

great honour and solemnity." Twenty pounds' worth of black cloth was bought abroad, which was probably used for hangings.* The temporary "herce" was covered with "gold cloths," which were sold afterwards for no less than £66 13s. 4d. The king soon set about erecting a costly tomb for her and for himself. We learn from a document extracted in Bentley's Cartulary that Nicholas and Godfrey, of Wood Street, began to make the "mould and imagines" in 1394. In 1395 a contract was signed with Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, citizens and coppersmiths of London, for two gilt images crowned and clasping their right hands together and holding sceptres with their left hands. One *contrefait le corps* of the king and the other of the queen. The "table" on which they were to be placed was to be fretted with fleurs-de-lys, lions, eagles, and leopards. There were to be tabernacles, called "hovels" or "gablitz," over the heads of the images, and two lions at the feet of the king, with an eagle and leopard at the feet of the queen. Also there should be twelve images of gilt metal of saints such as should be named by the king, and eight angels around the tomb. Also engraved "escriptures" and enamelled shields of arms. All should be performed in two years according to a "patron" which Nicholas and Godfrey had shown, and the king should pay them £400 † (say, £5000). The eight angels spoken of

* Roger Elys, chandler, supplied a great store of candles.

† See Neale. There is a minutely accurate half full-sized drawing of the statues by Hollis now at the Deanery. And good electrotypes of all the bronze images are at the National Portrait Gallery.

must have been on the "table" in two strips of tabernacle work like the angels of Edward III.'s tomb. Their engraved nimbuses may still be seen. The eagle at the foot of the queen is shown by Sandford. The garments of the king and queen are covered with minute engraved patterns and the letters R. and A. Precious stones were set down the centre of the queen's bodice and there is a very pretty brooch on her left shoulder.

In Dr. Sharpe's Calendar we have the will of Nicholas Broker, coppersmith, who died in 1426. Another bronze effigy-maker of this time was William Godezer, coppersmith, of London, who, in 1412, was paid for an image of the queen's mother placed over her tomb in the King's College at Leicester.*

In 1454 an agreement was made for the splendid bronze effigy of Richard Beauchamp at Warwick with London artists. William Austen, founder, was to provide the bronze images according to patterns, Thomas Stevens, coppersmith, executed the plate (and probably the patterns), and Bartholomew Lambspring, Dutchman, goldsmith, did the polishing, the gilding, and the enamelled escutcheons; John Essex, marbler, wrought the slab, and the rest of the tomb was by John Bourde, of Corfe, marbeler,† who engaged to supply marble "as well coloured as any in England," and all according to a "portraic-

* Issue Roll. All bronze images in England, we may conclude, were London work. We hear of another at the Greyfriars at Stamford, "a goodly image of copper-gilt laid upon marble," of Dame Blanche of Lancaster: "It is very beautiful." See Gasquet, vol. i. p. 464.

† Dugdale's "Warwick."

ture" delivered to him—probably by Essex. We have before met with Stevens and Essex about 1448 (see p. 209). Stevens lived in Gutter Lane and seems to have left descendants in the business, for, in 1491, John Stevens, coppersmith, was paid for making a gilt helmet and target for the installation of a Knight of the Garter.*

One other mediæval bronze figure in the church has not yet been mentioned. This is the remarkable enamelled effigy of William de Valence (d. 1296). Burges showed that it was probably of Limoges work. It is not cast, but is of sheet metal, beaten up and attached to a wood core. There is now in the mediæval room of the Louvre an effigy of similar workmanship and age, but without any enamels remaining on it. This is the statue of Blanche of Champagne (d. 1283) executed at Limoges. The thin bronze sheeting over the wood model is applied in many pieces; the face and wimple is in one, the pillow, which has sunk patterns for enamel, is in two. It is so much like the Westminster effigy that both probably came from one workshop. In the Wallace Collection are some small images attached to enamelled plates; similar figures were once fixed to the sides of the Valence tomb. Several small enamelled coats of arms, which were placed under these weepers, remain; a record of others, which have disappeared, is given in Lansdowne MS. 874. I cannot think that this splendid tomb of the half-brother of Henry III. can originally have been situated anywhere else than

* The bronze work of Henry VII.'s Chapel is considered in Chapter XI.

in the Confessor's chapel near the tombs of his children. It may have given place to the tomb of Philippa or that of Edward III.

Goldsmiths.

The goldsmith's craft was the best regarded and best rewarded of the Middle Ages. A large proportion of the Lord Mayors of London were goldsmiths. Most of them seem to have dealt in money, and the richest were the bankers of the time. In Domesday we hear of the goldsmith to Edward the Confessor, one Teodric, who held Kennington; and from this time onwards records of goldsmiths are so numerous that it will be impossible to deal with them here. I must limit myself to some account of the golden shrine, the great treasure and palladium of the church, and to the goldsmiths of the time when it was made. Under the year 1241 Matthew Paris says that the king caused a shrine of pure gold and precious jewels to be made. Burges cites an account which shows that the wooden shrine or basis for the gold was supplied in this year, and £258 was spent in "the work of St. Edward's shrine." In 1244 an image of the Virgin, with an emerald and ruby, was given by the queen. In 1245 Edward, the clerk, was ordered to go to Woodstock to show the king the image of the Confessor, probably for one of the pillars by the shrine. In 1251 a cameo was to be sought for the shrine. In 1255 a precious jewel, worth 60 or 100 marks, was to be bought, and in 1260 other precious stones were set in it. The designer of this golden coffin may have been Odo the goldsmith, so frequently mentioned from

c. 1226,* Henry III.'s favourite man of business. Or it may have been Edward, his son, or perhaps, most probably, Richard Abel. Later we know with certainty that the work was in the hands of William of Gloucester, who, in 1256, was called "king's goldsmith," and in 1257 was put in charge of the Mint at wages of 2s. a day for self and clerks. Odo, I think, died about the time the shrine was begun, as in 1239 his son, Edward, was associated with him, and later Edward's name alone occurs. Edward was "keeper of the shrine" from its commencement, but he is styled "the king's beloved clerk," and I cannot say if he practised his father's art. I am inclined to think not, for in 1243 Richard Abel, goldsmith, was appointed master at the Mint, possibly in succession to Odo; the year before he was paid £12 for gold clasps.†

In 1256 a mandate was issued to William of Gloucester to take all the money he could get out of the King's Jewry to buy gold for the king, and it seems likely that this was for the shrine.

In 1269 the work was so far completed that it then received the body of the saint, but the king went on adding to it till death stayed his hand.

An account of the last year of Henry III. (1272) has been printed in "Gleanings,"‡ in which the executors of William of Gloucester set out the amounts of money received in connection with the frontal, a silver image for the tomb of the Princess Katharine, and the work on the "feretrum" of St. Edward. It is retrospective, going back to 1256, and such large sums are involved that it is

* Issue Roll. † *Ibid.* ‡ P. 113.

no wonder to find that auditors were appointed by patent (1 Edward I.) to hold an enquiry as to "the great sums of money" expended on the frontal, the image, and the shrine, as shown in the account of the late William of Gloucester.

From a list of precious images and jewels belonging to the work drawn up in 1267, and printed in "Gleanings,"* we get the best idea of the shrine. The gold images were: 1. Of St. Edmund, king, with a crown, having two great sapphires, &c., and worth £86; 2. A king, with a ruby on his breast, £48; 3. A king, with a flower in his hand, and a great garnet on his breast and other stones and pearls, £56; 4. A king, similar, £52; 5. A king, with a sapphire on his breast, £59; 6. Five angels of gold, £30; 7. The Blessed Virgin and her Son, set with rubies, emeralds, sapphires, and garnets, £200; 8. An image of a king, holding a feretrum, set with precious stones, in his hand, and having an enamelled and jewelled crown, £103; 9. A king, holding a cameo in one hand and a sceptre in the other, £100; 10. An image of St. Peter, holding a church in one hand and keys in the other, trampling on Nero, who had a big sapphire on his breast, £100; 11. A Majesty, £200; 12. Many great jewels and cameos.

The general form of the shrine must have resembled that shown in the Cambridge "Life of the Confessor," figured by Scott, who assigns it the date of 1245, but it is, I think, much nearer the style of 1270, and may have been written at the time of the translation, 1269. Although it refers to the

* P. 141.

earlier shrine it probably represents the work of Henry III.* A symbol rather than an illustration of the shrine from the margin of the British Museum copy of Matthew Paris is shown in Fig. 4. The Majesty and the Virgin would have occupied the gabled ends and the images of kings the sides.

One of the kings we are told was St. Edmund, and we may be sure that the rest, as would be most appropriate, were English sainted kings, with the exception of the most costly one, that holding the model of the shrine itself, which must have been Henry III. St. Peter trampling on Nero appeared as the patron of the church. In an interesting contemporary account of how the citizens of London were treated by the king on the occasion of the translation in 1269, the shrine is described as "a *basilica*, adorned with purest gold and precious stones."† It must have been of quite unbelievable splendour, and if we take into account the valuation in 1267 of £2555 for the images alone, and consider the time it was in progress, we may venture to say that it could not have cost less than £60,000 or £80,000 of our money.

We have seen that the bronze effigy of Henry III. was made by William Torel about 1291. Other celebrated goldsmiths of the time were Master Adam, William de Farringdon, Thos. de Frowick, and Gregory Rokesley. In the accounts for the burial of Queen Alianor the name of Master

* Even if the earlier date could be proved to be right, the new shrine was already well advanced in 1245. Seeing how the miniature agrees with the description, we may accept it as a picture of it.

† Liber de Ant. Legibus.

Adam, the queen's goldsmith, occurs, as having made a golden angel to hold her heart for the church of the Blackfriars. The *design* of the present Coronation Chair seems to be traceable to the same Adam. The account of the year 1300 for the chair is headed Account of Adam, the King's Goldsmith; from it it appears that the chair was intended to be cast in bronze, but this was given up, and a chair of wood was made similar to it, costing 100s.

Before this time Adam was working with William de Farringdon on the gold shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury. An account of 1284* shows that "Dom. William de Farndon" was then remaking the shrine, apparently at the cost of Edward I.; 13 lbs. of gold was supplied for three images of St. Edward, the Pilgrim, and St. George on his horse.† Gold for covering the feretrum and divers pinnacles are mentioned, also precious stones and crystal. The pinnacles were the work of "Ade Aurifaber." William de Farringdon is called king's goldsmith in 1285; he probably succeeded William de Gloucester, and Adam probably followed him in the office.

William de Farringdon died in 1293.‡ He was alderman of the City Ward, to which he gave his name. It must be as a "Baron" of London that he was styled as above. The Wardrobe Rolls at the Record Office contain accounts of Adam, the king's goldsmith, for some plate bought by him in Paris for Edward I. in 1298.§ There are

* Wardrobe, 372, 11, at Record Office.

† The two national saints so early!

‡ Sharpe's "Wills." § Exch. Ward, 355, 23 and 24.

also two accounts for objects supplied by him in 1296 and 1300.

The former of these* gives a very long list of romantic works, including a gold crown, a circle of gold "a fines emerauds," and several "chapeaux" of gold, some of which were "amayllés de clar color" (these were the fashionable garlands of the time). Also "une cloche de argent" and "une nascele à ensenz."†

Fig. 99.—Seal of Henry III.

Gregory Rokesley was chief assay master, M.P. in 1284, Lord Mayor several times. He lived in Milk Street—"at a rent of 20s. a year; such were the rents of those times," says Stow—and he died in 1291.‡

Thos. de Frowick was warden of the Goldsmiths and Alderman in 1279. He made a golden crown for Margaret, the second queen of Edward I., and her beautiful seal may be his work.§

Walter de Croxon, goldsmith, in 1237 made the Exchequer Seal of Henry III.

* Middlesex Chancery, 15, 16.

† Compare an account of Master Adam's given in Miss Strickland's Life of Alianor in her "Queens of England."

‡ See his Will, in Sharpe's Calendar.

§ See Fig. 316 in "Boutell's Heraldry," small edition.

Glaziers.

The glazing was going forward at the church as early as 1253. In this year's accounts we find that white and coloured glass was issued from the stores for certain windows which were to be done by task-work. White work was to be done at 4d. a foot, coloured at 8d. Some of this glass was purchased from Lawrence, glazier, and Richard Borser.*

In the triforium of the church are three or four large pieces of "grisaille glass" set with morsels of bright blue, red, and yellow. (Figs. 100 and 101.) Twenty years ago they were nearly intact, they were removed from the most eastern window of St. Nicholas' Chapel, and Mr. Wright told me, I believe, that other fragments are still in place. It would be just these windows that were put in hand in 1253, and these fragments are enough to give us a clue to the first scheme of glazing. The completion of the glazing for the work of Henry III. is probably recorded in 1290, when £64 (say £1200) was paid to "John of Bristol, king's glazier, for making glass windows in the church of Westminster."† The windows in question were probably those in the clerestory of the choir. In the present East windows, where many diverse fragments have been gathered together, there are some white quarrys, each decorated with a vine leaf of about this date. Also some *early* coats of arms. (Figs. 103 and 104.) A MS. in the British Museum, by William Fox, 1744, contains a description of these arms and the windows

* In 1242 one Edward was the master glazier at Windsor.

† *Archæologia*, xxix.

generally. One of the coats is of Provence, *or, four pales gules*, and he explains that, "the glass being

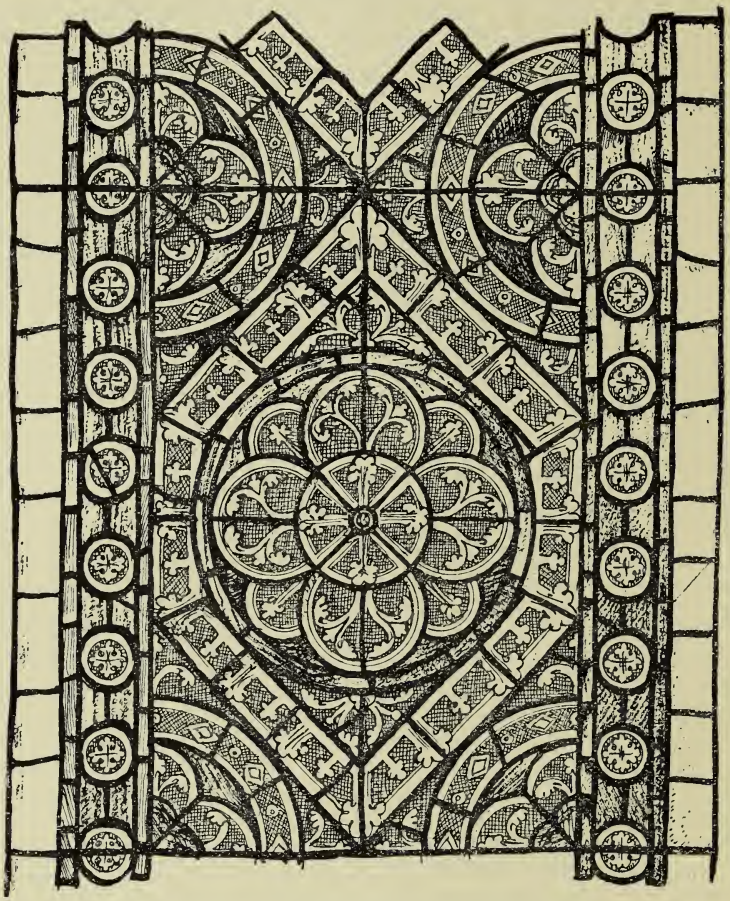


Fig. 100.—Ancient glazing of Apsidal Chapels

broken, what looks like a fess is because it is not replaced again properly." In the Powell Collection (*c.* 1810) is a drawing of the arms in the first light on the right, which shows that it was the crowned

lion of Cornwall with the bezanty bordure, but it was placed in the window in a *reversed* way. These coats of Henry III.'s wife and brother can only belong to the early work. In the MS. Lansdowne, 874, is given a series of thirteen early

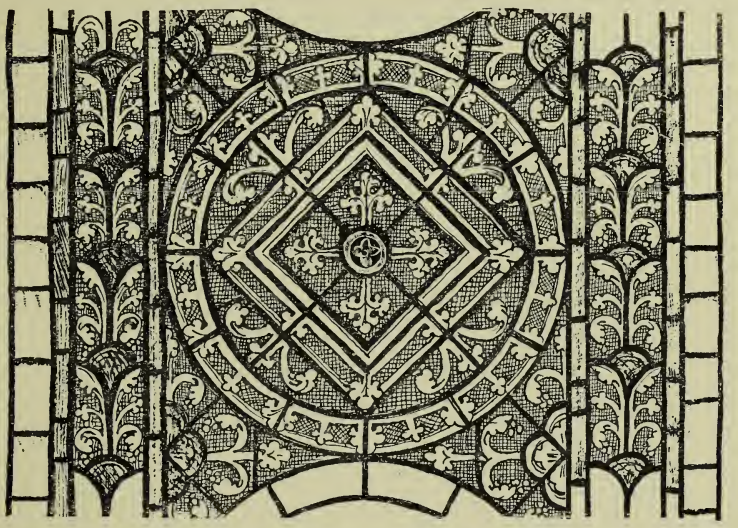


Fig. 101.— Ancient glazing of Apsidal Chapels

coats which must have come from the glazing. They are Castile and Leon, England, Ponthieu, Edward the Confessor, England with label of five points and fleurs de lys, Provence, Castile and Leon, Ponthieu, Clare, De Lacy Earl of Lincoln, Germany, Cornwall, England. Now Sandford says, that the arms of Henry III. "are yet standing in several windows in the Abbey"; and of the coat of Castile and Leon, he says, "I have seen those arms in the window in the west side of the north cross." These arms were probably set on the

grisaille glass at the bottom of the lights of the ground floor. Dart mentions the arms of England, Provence, and Leon and Castile in this situation, and we know that the windows in Salisbury Chapter House, which is practically a copy of Westminster Chapter House, followed such a scheme. We must suppose that the East windows and Roses of the transepts, at least, would have had pictured glass of the highest scale of colour—sapphire, ruby, and emerald. The fine early panels in Jerusalem Chamber may come from the church.

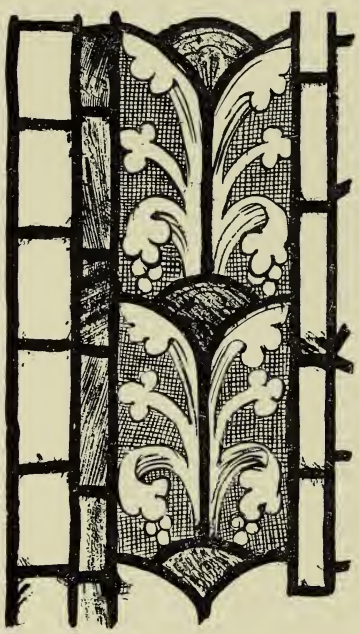


Fig. 102.—Border of last

Hollar's large view of the interior shows three tiers of three small figures in each light, eighteen figures in all, filling the East windows, and this may represent the original. He could hardly have invented anything so accurately in style. Hollar also shows the windows divided up with two vertical irons as well as by the horizontal bars. This is found in some unaltered windows in the nave, and may be the original form.

At the palace in 1307 Master William de Horkyle was the glazier. The glazing of St. Stephen's Chapel was undertaken in 1352 by John

de Chester, John Athlard, John Lincoln, Hugh Lichfield, Symon de Lynne, and John Linton ; all masters, drawing and painting on "white tables" (cartoons) for 1s. a day. Eleven others were painting the glass at 7d. a day ; and fourteen were breaking and jointing the glass at 6d.*

Fig. 103.—Coat-of-Arms of Earl of Cornwall. From east window

The windows of the nave of the church seem to have been filled by Richard II. and later benefactors with single figures to each light. Hatton (1708) says : "The windows were doubtless well adorned with stained glass painted with various portraits, of which there yet remain such at the east and west ends, and *many on the south side in the upper range, westward from the cross roof*, and in the south-west window below is the portrait of Edward the Confessor." The windows of the nave were "finely painted but now ruined." The story of the Confessor giving the ring to the pilgrim filled the window of the south aisle next to that above the west door to cloister, with a legend beneath.†

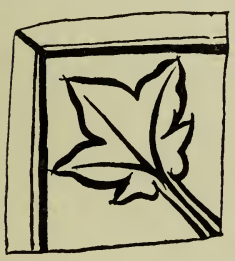


Fig. 104.—A fragment from east windows

Another of the south windows contained a

* See accounts printed by J. T. Smith.

† Rex cui nil aliud presto fuit accipe dixit
Annulum et ex digito detrahit ille suo.
Dart : the legend quoted from Caxton.

picture (" portraiture," says Sandford) of Richard II. with his badge, a white hart couchant, gorged with a coronet and chained under a tree.

The present pleasant-looking old windows at the east end have as a basis large fifteenth-century figures, one of which is certainly the Confessor, for the uplifted hand with ring still exists. This is in the left light of the centre window, and the companion light must be the pilgrim. These windows are a patchwork of old and semi-modern glass, but quite interesting. Some of these late windows may have been the work of William Burgh, glazier, who filled the great window of Westminster Hall with " flourished glass " in the last year of Richard II. 1399. John Pruddle, or Prudde, of Westminster, was another famous glazier, who is named in the Eton accounts in 1445–6 as chief glazier to the king. About 1450 Prudde glazed the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick.* About the same time he supplied glass for Greenwich Palace " flourished with marguerites, hawthorn buds, and daisies," the flowers of Henry VI. and his queen.†

In 1433 (19 Henry VI.) John Prudde was appointed to "the office of glazier of our works," to hold it, " as Roger Gloucestre," had held it, " with a shed called the glazier's lodge, standing upon the west side within our palace of Westminster." ‡ This is a particularly interesting notice of the palace workshops, another of which, "the Plumbery," I have found mentioned.

* Dugdale. † Hastead's Hist. Kent.

‡ " Domestic Architecture in the Middle Ages," I. p. 76.

Henry, the smith, is mentioned in the Roll of 1253. In the palace account for 1259 Master Henry Lewis, smith, appears, receiving the large remuneration of 3s. a week. The smith, indeed, seems to have been better paid than other craftsmen. Henry de Lewis died in 1291, and left to his wife and daughters houses in London and Lewis.* He was working up to the end, for in 1290 he was paid for ironwork to the tomb of Henry III.†

Smiths.

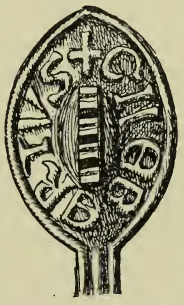


Fig. 105.—Name stamped on ironwork at Windsor

The only specimens of the ironwork of this tomb which now exist are some pretty little leaf-shaped cramps which fix the porphyry slabs. I would suggest that the beautiful early ironwork on the door in S. George's Chapel, Windsor, may also be his work. The chapel was begun *c.* 1240. I have found stamped here and there on the ornaments the name Gilebertus. (Fig. 105.) Now a Gilbert de Tile, bailiff of Windsor, was in 1256 ordered to pay five marks to William, the painter, who was decorating the chapel, and it seems possible that this door was a present from the bailiff, who at this time may have been keeper of the works.

The beautiful iron grate to the tomb of Queen Alianor, which is of similar work but later in style, was the work of Thomas de Leighton, who in 1294 received for it £12, and 20s. extra for its carriage and for his own and assistants' time while

* Sharpe's "Calendar of Wills." † "Gleanings," p. 148.

in London fixing it. It has been pointed out that the ironwork on the west door of Leighton Buzzard Church is similar.*

In the first year of Edward II. (1307) a grant was made to Master James de Lewesham, the king's smith, of 8d. a day for his wages so long as he shall remain "in office."† We find him in the accounts of this time engaged at the Tower and the palace. In 1316 David at Hope was king's smith at Westminster.‡ In 1326 I find John Cole, *Fevre le Roy*, mentioned (Stow MSS. 559). Master Walter Bury, smith, working at the palace in the years 1331–37, was in 1338 appointed as chief smith and chief surveyor for all the king's works: he was to receive in his office a robe such as befitted his estate yearly and 12d. daily for his wages.§ Master Andrew was the next smith of whom we have record; he was working at the palace in 1352. In 1362 Andrew, the king's smith at the Tower, died. He seems to have lived in Old Jewry.‖ In 1371 Peter Bromley, late blacksmith (retired), was granted 100s. yearly for his good services.¶ The most important piece of ironwork at the Abbey of a later date is the grate of Henry V.'s tomb, and the finest example in England is the tomb screen of Edward IV. at Windsor. We have seen that the former was the work of Roger Johnson of London, smith, who, in 1431, was ordered to arrest (press) smiths to complete the ironwork of the tomb of the late king.**

* "Gleanings," p. 90.
† Issue Roll. ‡ *Ibid.* § Patents.
‖ Sharpe's "Calendar of Wills." ¶ Issue Roll. ** Rymer.

The Windsor screen is rather locksmith's than blacksmith's work. The general design seems to be an adaptation of the stone front of Henry V.'s chantry at Westminster. The bronze grille of Henry VII.'s tomb was in turn influenced by the Windsor ironwork. In the Lansdown MS. 874 (*c.* 1610) I find a sketch of the Windsor screen with a note: "Edward IV. is buried in this place."

We have seen that John Tresilian was principal smith at St. George's Chapel in 1482–3, and received £24 5s. as against £12 paid to the mason, and there can be little doubt that the suggestion * which has been made that he was at this time engaged on the splendid iron tomb screen of Edward IV.'s tomb is correct.† Sandford gives a good engraving of it in its original place, and says that the king (d. 1483) "lies in the new chapel whose foundation himself had laid under a monument of steel polished and gilt representing a pair of gates between two towers all of curious transparent workmanship, in the north arch near to the High Altar."

The articles of the "whole company of the craft of blacksmiths" assembling at St. Thomas of Acres in the Brotherhood of St. Loys in 1434 consisting of 68 (named) members has been printed.‡

* Tighe and Davis.

† The locksmiths were a distinct craft. I have found mentioned Lawrence Hereford *serruiar*, working at the palace in 1314. Another is John Wylde, lockyer, in 1373.

‡ London and Middlesex Archæological Society, vol. iv.

PLUMBERS AND OTHER CRAFTSMEN

Plumbers and other Craftsmen.

In the Fabric Roll of 1249 we find that a William was then plumber; and in 1253 William and Roger, plumbers, were engaged by task-work on the belfry. In the palace account for 1259 John Govair and William le Strand are said to have been paid "for founding and laying eight fothers of lead by task" at 5s. a fother. When paid otherwise they had 4d. a day.

The joiners were at an early time a distinct craft from the carpenters; we have seen on p. 160 that Jacob, the junctor, probably wrought the stalls of the church in 1253. In 1307 Richard Godfrey and John Reed, junctors, were working at the palace, and the same account which names them* gives remarkably full references to tradesmen: Master John was plasterer, and William and John of Oxford tilers.†

* British Museum. Add. 30, 263.

† In the Pipe Roll accounts for the church in 48–51 Hen. III. *plaster* appears as well as lime. This must have been plaster of Paris.

CHAPTER XV

THE MOSAIC WORKERS

"*It is trodden, worn, and dirtied; yet is it not a national treasure; when it is quite destroyed can we show such another?*" MALCOLM.

The Presbytery Pavement : Tomb of John and Katherine : Tombs of John and Margaret de Valence : The Confessor's Shrine : Tomb of Henry III. : Floor of the Confessor's Chapel.

THE Italian mosaics in the church are in every way remarkable. There are in all six works, and it is doubtful if the art of the Roman Cosmati School can be more conveniently studied in any other place. Hardly can one of them be matched this side of the Alps. From the contemporary descriptions of other works and from the Romances we gather that such work was known as *opus mosaicum*,* or in French, *d'or musik*.

The Presbytery Pavement.

The pavement of the presbytery is accurately engraved in "Gleanings." An inscription inlaid into the marble bands may still in part be traced. It stated that the floor was the work of Odericus of Rome in 1268. The legend was printed in full by Camden in 1600; and there is in the British Museum a copy made about 1460 by the monk, Richard Sporley, in his MS. Lives of the Abbots.† This writer adds a much needed explanation of an

* Symon Simeonis, a traveller from England, thus describes the decorations of St. Mark's early in the fourteenth century.

† MS. Claud, A. 8.

enigmatical part of the inscription. From this copy and the evidence of the pavement itself it is clear that the inscription was not continuous as usually printed (*e.g.* " Gleanings "), but was divided into three parts, disposed (*a*) on the great square ; (*b*) around the quatrefoil within the diagonal square; (*c*) around the central circle. I have verified the following points : (*a*) began on the east side of the great square ; (*b*) was on a continuous strip of brass, only the matrix of which remains ;* (*c*) was around the inner circle. As this follows in order from the outside to the centre, and as (*a*) begins in front of the altar with the usual sign + I shall print the lines as arranged on the pavement although the MS. puts (*a*) last. This first part can be wholly verified from the pavement and Scott's illustrations.†

+ : XPI : MILLENO : BICENTENO : DUODENO : CVM : SEXAGENO : SVBDVCTVS : QVATUOR : ANNO : TERTIVS : HENRICVS : REX : VRBS : ODERICVS : ET : ABBAS : HOS : COMPEGERE : PORPHYREOS : LAPIDES.

We should understand from these verses beginning " XPI Milleno," says Sporley, Anno Domini one thousand two hundred and sixty-eight ; Henry the Third being the king, and Odericus the cementarius ; Richard de Ware, abbot, brought the porphyry and divers jaspers and marbles of Thaso from Rome. The next section (*b*) has entirely disappeared. I print it as given by Widmore, from the Sporley MS. :

* A groove exists around the parallelogram on the north side under which Abbot Ware was buried. The panel on the south had no such inscription. † The beginning + XPI is at the north-east angle.

SI : LECTOR : POSITA : PRUDENTER : CVNCTA : REVOLVAT : HIC : FINEM : PRIMI : MOBILIS : INVENIET : SEPES : TRINA : CANES : ET : EQUOS : HOMINESQUE : SUBADDAS : CERVOS : ET : CORVOS : AQUILAS : IMMANIA : CETE : MVNDVM : QUODQUE : SEQUENS : PEREUNTES : TRIPLICAT : ANNOS

From these five verses in the other quadrangle may be known the time of the end of the world : Three Hedges means 3 years ; a Dog 9 ; Horse 27 ; Man 81 ; Stag 243 ; Raven 729 ; Eagle 2187 ; Whale 6561 ; the World 19,683.

This curious account I find confirmed in a copy of the verses made only thirty or forty years after the pavement was laid, in the MS. Arundel 30, at the Herald's College, written with numbers thus :

3 9 27 81
Sepes trima : Canes & Equos : hōiesq' s̄b addas
243 729 2187 6561 19683
Cervos & Corvos : Aquilas Immania Cete Mundū qdq' seq̄ns pēuntes tp̄licat annos.

I find the whole five lines again at the beginning of a short chronology printed in the Rolls edition of Rishanger, and written apparently in 1311.*

As is well known, animals were by mediæval writers thought to live to a great age, and such a chronological scheme as this of the pavement was part of the folk-lore of most countries from Italy to Ireland. Under the title, "The Legend of

* This follows the reading *Sepes trima* as in the last copy, and may be taken as the right text. The *Primum mobile* was the *ninth* or outer revolving sphere of the universe. Its revolution was evidently thought to coincide in time with the *ninth* progression of the legend (the world). In Mediæval Chronicles, 1 A.D. = 5199 A.M.

the Oldest Animals" Mr. Whitley Stokes published several variations nearly twenty years ago in the *Academy*.* The Irish form (fifteenth century) was perhaps the most like the Westminster inscription. It read : A year for the stake, three years for the field, three times the field the hound ; three times the hound, the horse, on through man, stag, ousel, eagle, salmon, yew, the world.

We now come to part (*c*) of the inscription, of which the last two words can still be traced on the floor :

SPHÆRICVS : ARCHETYPVM : GLOBVS : HIC : MONSTRAT : MICROCOSMVM

From this verse about the round stone in the middle of the floor, says Sporley, we are to learn that it resembles the globe of the spheres because it has the four colours of the Elements—fire, air, water, earth—and is a microcosm of the universe. I suppose from this that the central stone was of porphyry, which might be supposed to combine the colours red, white, blue, and brown. There cannot be a doubt that the mosaic pavement on which the Ambassadors stand in Holbein's celebrated picture in the National Gallery represents this pavement as noticed independently by Miss Harvey and myself. I believe it was selected by Holbein because it symbolised Time, on which death throws its recurring shadow, as in the picture the skull forms the gnomon to the dial of the pavement. The central disc on the painting has a pattern which is found on one of the discs of

* 1889. It is traced back to Hesiod, the Mahabarata, and old Buddhist forms.

mosaic in the Confessor's chapel. About 1866 the steps before the altar were put back further eastward and a strip here was restored, Scott says,

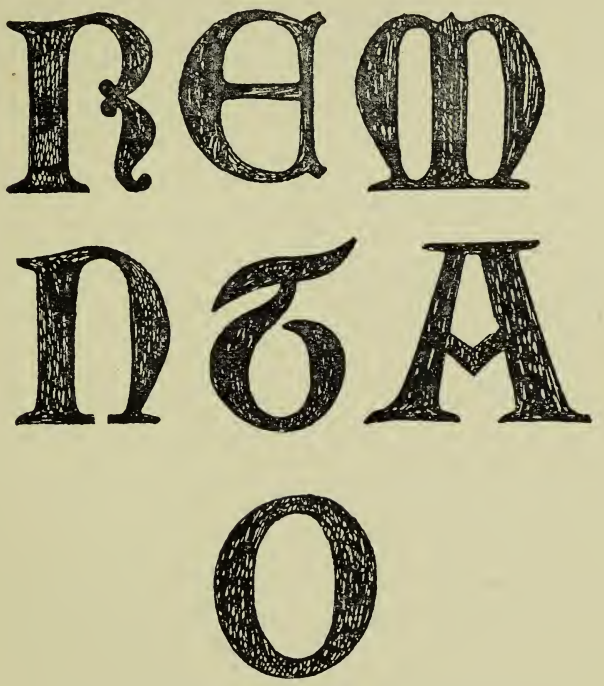


Fig. 106.—Brass letters existing in the Presbytery pavement

from old fragments.* Pieces on the north and south sides were also laid down at the same time. I have no doubt that the original was just a square made up on the sides with plain paving.

The mosaic is in good preservation notwithstanding rough usage. A century ago, when Malcolm

* "Recollections."

protested against people being admitted to this floor, only eleven of the brass letters remained—R,E,M,N,T,A, around the centre and OE, NO, E, on the sides of the great square. Now still fewer of the actual letters exist. (Fig. 106.) The interlacing pattern of one of the circle fillings on the left is distinctly Arabic. It is well known how Arabic art influenced Cosmati work in Sicily and South Italy, and here we get a direct touch of the Orient.* (Fig. 107.)

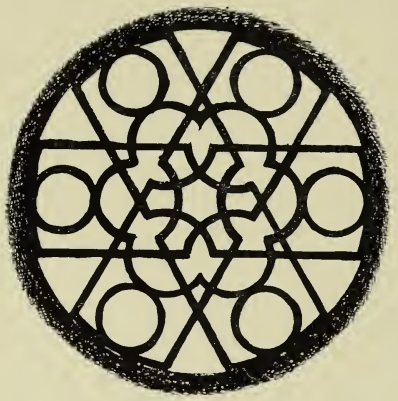


Fig. 107.—Pattern of one of the small circles in pavement

Tomb of John and Katherine, 1272.

The mosaic tomb in the south ambulatory is now usually called that of Katherine, daughter of Henry III. A Pipe Roll entry of 1256–7 notes a payment to Master Simon of Well for going to Westminster with his tools to make a tomb for the Princess Katherine. As this is entered under Dorset and Somerset, and is associated with a payment for Purbeck marble, it is probable that Simon was a marbler from Corfe, and Dean Stanley suggested that "Well" is Weal near Corfe.

Stow calls the mosaic tomb the tomb of the

* The pavement was drawn full-size by Talman, *c.* 1710. Dart says the drawing was given to the Antiquaries.

children of Henry III. and Edward I. "in number 9." Speed (1632) gives the names of Richard, John (d. 1250), Henry (d. 1260), and Katherine, children of Henry III., and of John, Henry, Alphonso, and Eleanor, children of Edward I. The last four, he adds, had their "portraits" painted above the tomb. Vestiges of these paintings (which are shown in Dart's engraving, 1723) can still be traced. Keepe (1683) says the tomb enclosed the bones of the children of Henry III. and that it was set up by Edward I. for his children. According to Matthew of Westminster, Alphonso was in 1284 laid with his before buried brothers and sisters "near the feretrum of St. Edward," enclosed in "marble, porphyry, and thaso." This describes our tomb, but says that it was near the shrine, and we get from this a clue to a complicated history. In the accounts for the tomb of Richard II. an item appears for *removing a tomb* to make room for that of the king, and for *painting* done to it when so removed.* Now an examination of the lower arch above the mosaic tomb will show that the deep recess was formed for it at the end of the fourteenth century, and the painting above it, as shown by Dart, was clearly of the same date. It is evident that the tomb was not made for the position it now occupies. At its east end

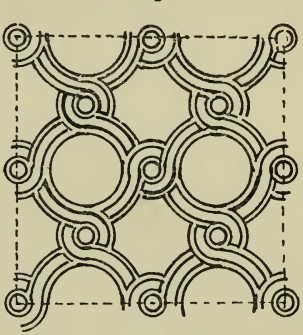


Fig. 108.—Pattern of top of tomb

* See above, p. 278.

part of the mosaic is buried, and at the west hidden mosaic may be felt. This tomb, then, was first erected in the Confessor's chapel and was removed to a position opposite by Richard II. Nor is this, I believe, the only tomb which has been removed, as said above the enamelled effigy of William de Valence must, I feel sure, like the grave slabs of his children (as we shall see) have once occupied a place in the Confessor's chapel.

At the Record Office there are two small accounts rendered by Robert of Beverley "for works at Westminster after the burial of the king" (Henry III., 1272), being wages of several workmen engaged on the tomb of D^m^ John de Wyndsor.* In the printed Issue Rolls, 1272–3, is the corresponding entry of a payment to Master Robert of £16 16s. 4½d. (a large sum) for the wages of divers workmen engaged on the tomb of Prince John for 16 weeks (a long time). Alphonso, we have seen, was buried in the tomb of his brother in 1284, and the tomb was described as made of marbles and porphyry. The time of the making of John's tomb is between the dates of the mosaics of the presbytery floor and the shrine. The argument seems conclusive that the tomb at present existing is that made for Prince John in 1272. He was only four years old, and Alphonso died at the age of twelve.

My reading of this complicated story is this: Katherine dying a dozen years before the consecration of the king's new work was buried in the nave, or more probably in St. Katherine's Chapel.

* Exchequer Works, Q.R. 471, 8.

According to Strype, a brass image is mentioned in connection with her tomb, and in 1259 a lectern at the *altar and tomb* of Katherine was made. The original tomb, made in 1257, cannot be our mosaic tomb, for at that time the mosaic workers were not engaged in the church. In 1272 a new tomb of mosaic in the style then in favour was made for Prince John, and Katherine's body was translated into the same tomb in the newly consecrated work. The silver image for the tomb of Katherine mentioned in the account for 1272 may have been prepared in view of this translation. In or about 1394 this tomb was removed from the position coveted by Richard II., the up recess where it now stands was prepared, and its low arch is a work of this date. The mosaic tomb is most probably complete, and the side hidden in the wall must be still in its first splendour.

Tombs of John and Margaret de Valence, 1277.

Close in front of Henry V.'s chantry there are two grave-slabs, one of which has been found, by cutting away the step, to be ornamented with mosaic and brass. Dart speaks of it as having had a cross, and in a good light the matrix of the arm of a plain cross was recently still visible, 15 in. from the head of the slab, as well as a trace of the upper limb between two shield-shaped cavities. These shields, like the cross, must have been of metal. A portion of the foot and shaft of the cross remains, protected by the step; also four brass letters on each side—L A M E and R L E A. This portion has been illustrated by

Boutell, who shows also the traces of three other letters on the north side, thus—VIILAME : The vestiges of the first letters were still visible ten years ago when I studied this tomb, the third appeared to be L, and the whole V]VILLAME. (Fig. 109.)

Camden has preserved the tradition that the

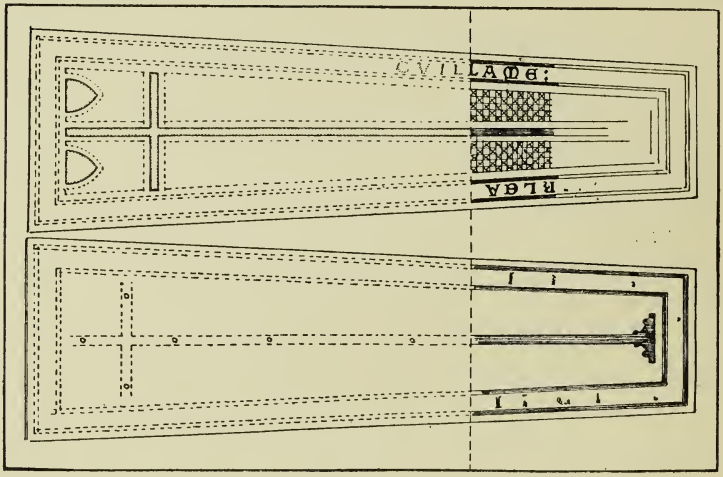


Fig. 109.—Tombs of John and Margaret

two slabs cover John, son of William de Valence, and Margaret his daughter. Stow also mentions their tombs, but the validity of the ascription has been doubted.*

I find in the Rolls edition of "Matthew of Westminster" that John, eldest son of William de Valencia, was buried at Westminster by the side of his sister Margaret in 1277. In the Sporley MS. we find that William established 160 masses for his son in the church ; and in two old lists of the

* Dart, and "Gleanings."

tombs (summarised below), which evidently date back to the days before the desolation of dissolution, the two tombs situated between the Confessor's shrine and the tomb of Henry V. are said to be those of John and Margaret. As in 1277 Peter, the mosaic worker, would have been already engaged on his work for the shrine which he signed two years later, we may ascribe this work to him.

The name William comes in such a position as would suit an inscription following the usual formula, Ici gist Johan fitzGuillame. . . . The other letters, R. L. E. A. I cannot explain. Boutell's suggestion that it was part of De Va[rlea]nce is impossible.*

I had looked on the slab of Margaret as quite plain, until one day noticing the marks of brass rivets on it I felt back under the step of the chantry, when I found the stem and base of a brass cross still in position, also the matrices of two border lines of brass and some letters of an inscription, some of which are still in place. This slab extends 2 ft. 3 in. under the step, and as both are otherwise similar this dimension gives the size of the other as well.

The Confessor's Shrine.

The marble and mosaic basement of the shrine bears an original inscription and date (now mostly hidden by plaster) which records the fact that it was wrought by one Peter of Rome. (Fig. 110.) A copy of the inscription has been kept, and the plaster having fallen away at the east end traces

* London and Middlesex Archæological Society, vol. i.

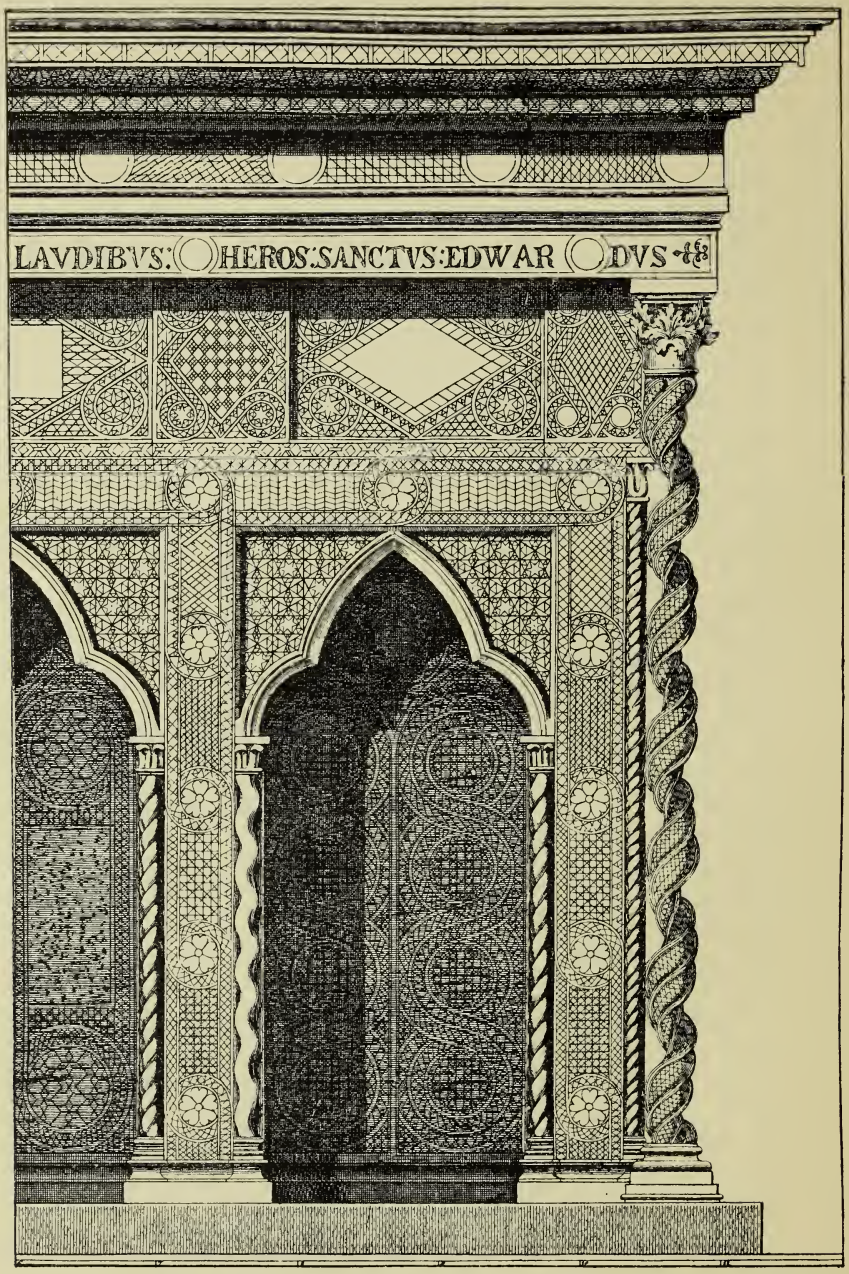


Fig. 110.—One-half of S. side of the Marble and Mosaic Basement of the Shrine. From Vertues' engraving. The inscription is of the time of Abbot Feckenham

of it may there be seen which agree with the written copies. These copies, however, differ among themselves in the important particular of the date, Widmore and Neale writing *sexageno* where others write *septuageno*. In "Gleanings" the latter is given, but the date of 1269 is retained in the commentary upon it. The only original authority appears to be Sporley's MS. (*c.* 1460) which gives the word as septuageno.

(1.) + ANNO : MILENO : DOMINI : CVM . SEPTVA-
GENO : ET :

(2.) BIS : CENTENO : CVM : COMPLETO : QVASI :
DENO : HOC : OPVS : EST : FACTVM : QVOD :
PETRVS :

(3.) DVXIT : IN : ACTVM : ROMANVS : CIVIS : HOMO :

(4.) CAVSAM : NOSCERE : SI : VIS : REX : FVIT :
HENRICVS : SANCTI : PRESENTIS : AMICVS.

The third part as here printed represents the portion now exposed, which, filling the east end, is sufficient to show that the inscription began on the west front and followed right around much as printed above. A close inspection shows that it was inlaid in mosaic, of which only the matrices of the tesseræ now remain. The letters were inlaid in bigger pieces than the mosaic ground in which they were inserted. (Fig. 111.) The Sporley MS. speaks of the inscription as of coloured and gilt stones, and at the south-west corner one upright stroke remains formed of pieces of dark blue glass, and this is sufficient to show the material and method of execution. The smaller tesseræ of the background must have been gilt, and we learn from Vertue that, when in 1741 some of the parts now

exposed came to light, it was "of glass, yellow like gold, cut, and set in." Within two months, however, it was all picked out.* The inscription, therefore, was formed of bars of blue glass set in gold mosaic.† The inscription is really a memorial to Henry III. after his death in 1272.

When the shrine was destroyed by Henry VIII.

Fig. 111.—Restoration of part of inscription on Basement of Shrine

the marble base was pulled down and the Confessor was buried on its site. The marble work was set up again by Abbot Feckenham in 1557,‡ and it was then repaired with plaster painted to imitate the mosaic. A new inscription was painted over the old one, which begins and ends with cyphers of the letters I[OHN]F. A[BBOT]. (Fig. 112.) The wooden structure which now represents the shrine proper was then made. It was decorated with inlays of glass painted at the back. Hardly a foot of the original mosaic of the basement remains,

* *Archæologia*, vol. i.

† About ten years after 1279 three marble columns, costing 46s 8d., were made and placed around the shrine. These may have been isolated, something like those at the St. Alban's shrine, and may have supported lights. "Gleanings," p. 136.

‡ See Mr. Micklethwaite in Proc. Soc. Antiq., 1895.

but some of the patterns may be traced by their imprint in the cement. (Fig. 113.)

Broken fragments of the marble-work are from time to time found. Scott refixed a portion of the architrave, and only last year a piece was discovered.

Fig. 112.—Monogram

In Italy two or three dozen inscribed works of the Cosmati school of marble-workers are known, and the signature *Civis Romanus* is frequently found. Cavaliere Boni, in a study of the subject, describes the Westminster shrine-base as the work of one of the most skilful of the Roman Marmorarii.

The construction of the marble basement is in slab-work, forming a series of stall-like recesses in which the people knelt. There is only a slab of about 5 or 6 in. thick down the centre which separates the opposite recesses. (Fig. 114.) The transverse dividing slabs are about the same thickness, and other pieces are added on to the face. The trefoil heads are cut out of slabs, and the arched soffites behind them are formed by inclining two thin pieces cut to a curve. The small writhing shafts at the angles of all the recesses are separately inserted. In the decoration one pattern of guilloche is used on the north side and another on the south, and these

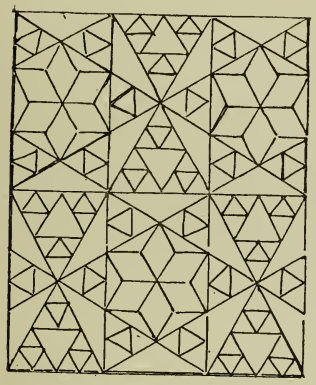


Fig. 113.—Mosaic pattern restored

two patterns meet in the centre of the east end.

When the marble-work was refixed under Abbot Feckenham a change was made in the disposition of the slab-work above the trefoil heads

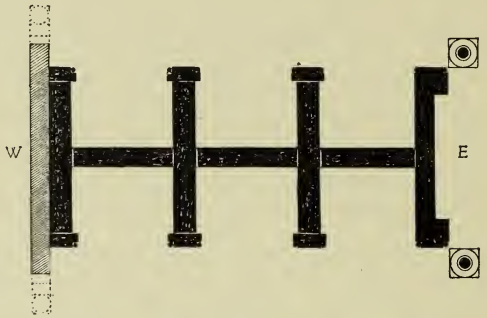


FIG. 114.—Plan of Basement of Shrine

of the recesses, the slab of the east end formerly overlapped the side slabs thus— E|___N. Now, the ends of the slab to the east being broken, the slabs to the north and south are made to lap over it thus— E|___N. This throws the pattern out of centre down the sides, and at the west end there are gaps of $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. against the reredos slab, which gaps are filled up by plaster.

The facts as to the west end are not so certain. Scott says he "exposed the marks showing where the altar had been fixed, and came to the conclusion that the pillars were formerly detached. The retabulum occupies its proper position, excepting that it had been lifted 3 in. above its original level, a fact

proved by its intercepting the space required for the completion of the inscriptions. The retabulum being decorated with mosaic, and the edges left plain, it follows that the latter must have been more or less concealed. I judge that the detached pillars must have been placed close to them. I opened the ground round the *half-buried pillars* at the west end, and found them to *agree in height* with those at the east."* Scott's view as to the position of the reredos is confirmed by the spacing of the inscription, which necessarily began on the west front, as shown above, but I do not think that the spiral columns stood close to its edges as he suggests. There are in these edges certain deep holes, and these, it seems to me, were for the attachment of vertical casing pieces other than the columns. In Scott's "Recollections" he says many things had come to light since the publication of "Gleanings"; amongst them were "some fragments belonging to the shrine of St. Edward, *e.g.*, a piece of the return of the cornice by its western end over the reredos."

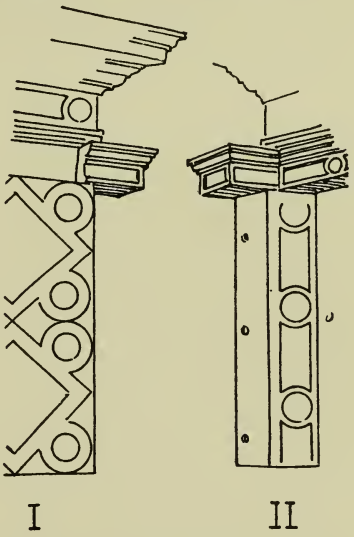


FIG. 115.—Part of West end of Basement of Shrine

Scott had this fragment fixed in place, it was a piece of the "architrave" member ranging with

* "Gleanings," p. 59.

the inscription. It *jutted out* about a foot from the south end of the reredos, and it had sinkings for mosaic on the front, back, and end. (Fig. 115.) A projection of the architrave was called for in any case, for the reredos slab is 3 in. or 4 in. too wide to fit under the architrave member without additional projections. The great projection of the piece would not only allow of the additional pilaster pieces at the ends of the reredos, as suggested above, but it seems possible also that the projections may have been long enough to rest also on the spiral columns. In that case the images of the Confessor and the pilgrim-beggar would have stood above. If there was not room for this the columns and figures would have stood free, possibly nearer the front of the altar. The altar itself would have supported the reredos.*

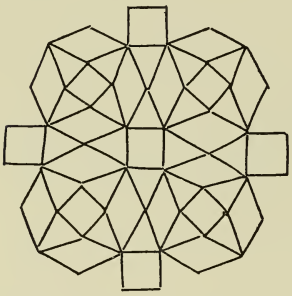


Fig. 116. — Restoration of one of the patterns of Mosaic. Tomb of Henry III.

Tomb of Henry III.

When Henry III. died, Edward I. was still in the East. The king was buried before the Great Altar of the church. In 1280, according to Rishanger, a contemporary, Edward I. brought precious stones of jasper, *de partibus Gallicanis*, to beautify his father's tomb, that is, the present tomb of mosaic, which was probably begun in this year after the com-

* The fragment has again been removed to allow of recent alterations to the shrine-base, and it now rests, I believe, on the eastern cornice.

pletion of the work at the shrine. The bronze effigy, we know for certain, was not completed till 1291. Mosaic and effigy together, the tomb is surpassingly beautiful. "Il gist à Westmonster entombé richment." *

Floor of the Confessor's Chapel.

The pavement of the chapel must have been ornamented with its mosaic after the king's tomb was in place, for the pattern is arranged to stop short of the bottom step of the tomb. The pattern of this floor is applied quite irrespective of the jointing of the slabs into which it is inserted. This marble basis is very irregular, and applying an "all-over" pattern to it in this way seems to be the most natural and direct manner of dealing with such a floor. I cannot think that Burges's suggestion that it was prepared before laying is possible; nor can I believe that, as he supposed, this is an English work, for the patterns which fill the circles, based mostly on hexagons, have a distinctly Oriental complexion.† The pattern is, in fact, a variation of

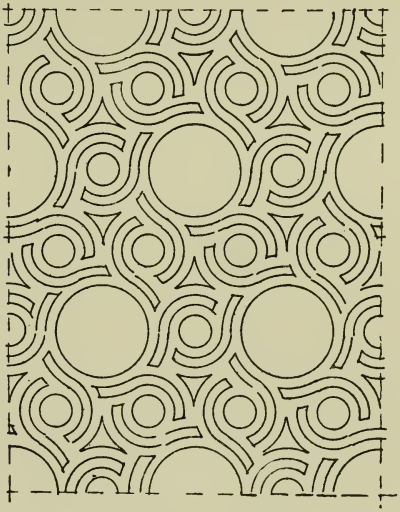


Fig. 117.—Pattern of Mosaic floor in the Confessor's Chapel

* Langtoft.

† There is great variety in these roundels, some two hundred, nearly all different. (See Fig. 18.)

that on the tomb of Katherine, similar inter-locking circular bands being arranged on a hexagonal setting-out instead of on squares. (Figs. 108 and 117.)

In the printed extract from the Pipe Roll of 1267–8 we find that pavior-masons were then laying a pavement before the feretrum.* I suppose

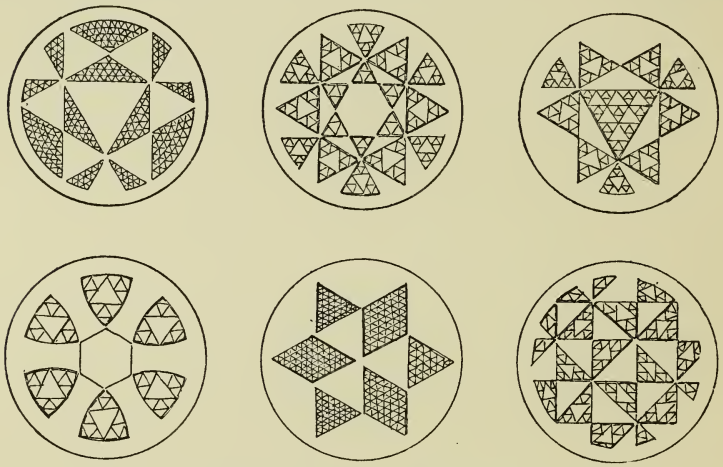


Fig. 118.—Mosaic Centres of Pavement. (Fig. 117)

that the marble slabs were then laid in preparation for the consecration of the next year, and that the mosaic was cut in about 1285 after the completion of Henry III.'s tomb.

The square of mosaic at Canterbury is so different in style that it may well be English work.

Old St. Paul's must have had a similar floor in a part of the choir, where might be seen "a parcel of pavement of black marble spotted with green similar to some at Westminster."†

* On looking at the original roll I find this appears as a separate entry—*et in stipendis quōrdā cementariorum*, &c., and it seems more probable that it refers to the Roman masons laying the Presbytery floor.

† Harrison. "Description of England."

CHAPTER XVI

THE TOMBS AND CHAPELS

"He regnyd Kyng lvi yere
And to Westmynstre men hymn bere."
ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER on Henry III.

Kings' Effigies and Royal Epitaphs : Records of Tombs : The Abbots' Graves : The Chapels.

Kings' Effigies.

IN the twelfth and thirteenth centuries persons of distinction were carried to their graves exposed to view, and dressed in official robes after having been embalmed. Of Henry II. we are told by Matthew Paris that the manner of his burial was thus : "He was clothed in royal robes, his crown upon his head, white gloves on his hands, boots of gold-work (embroidery) upon his legs, gilt spurs upon his heels, a great rich ring upon his finger, his sceptre in his hand, his sword by his side, and his face uncovered and all bare."

Queen Alianor was embalmed and carried to her grave attired in regal dress, with crown and sceptre, but her brow and breast were signed with the cross in dust.*

In 1774 the tomb of Edward I. was opened, and the body was found covered by a crimson silk tunic with a jewelled orphrey, over which was a mantle of crimson satin fastened over the left shoulder with a great brooch.† The hands seemed to have

* "Chronicles Reigns Edward I. and II.," Rolls Series. Eleanor of Provence was embalmed and not buried for months.

† The gold and jewels were imitations.

been covered with gloves, and the king held in his right hand the sceptre with the cross 2 ft. 6 in. long. In his left hand he held the rod with the dove, which was 5 ft. long, the top having a tuft of oak leaves enamelled green, and a ball surmounted by a dove of white enamel. On his head was a crown with trefoil fleurons.

At a later time an effigy resting on the coffin repre-

Fig. 119.—Burial of Queen of Charles V. of France.
From a contemporary MS.

sented the real figure. A tomb effigy is a permanent representation of a body as it was borne to the tomb. The effigy of Henry II. at Fontevrault not only shows the king as described above, but the slab on which he rests is carved into a representation of the bier on which he was borne to the tomb.*

* Since writing the above, I find a similar observation made in the notes to Stothard's "Effigies." "It appears that the tomb of Henry II. was literally a representation of the deceased king, *as if he still lay in state*. Nor can we, without supposing such was the *custom*, otherwise account

Burges has argued that neither the effigy of Henry III. nor that of Queen Alianor can be accepted as a portrait, but this can only be true in a very limited sense. They may have been, and were, idealised into types, but to suppose that likeness was not aimed at is surely absurd, and we have it on record in the account for the king's image that it was made *ad similitudinem regis Henrici.* It is urged that Alianor was over fifty when she died. Miss Strickland says forty-seven, and Alianor was famous for beauty ; Gough cites Langtoft as saying that the sculptors of her time made their figures of the Virgin in the likeness of the queen.* The sculptors of the time, indeed, were imitating nature in all their carvings. When we find portraits of vine and maple, oak and thorn, it is most unlikely that the king and queen were mere impersonal images. Such sculptures as these were never carved "out of people's heads." The effigy of Queen Philippa and all later royal statues are admitted to be portraits.

The metal head and the casing of the figure of Henry the Fifth have been destroyed. However, in the two groups representing his Coronation, sculptured above on the sides of the chantry, his head is so recognisably like that engraved by Sandford from a picture then at Whitehall, that there is no doubt of these being portraits ; probably the most authentic which exist, for the paintings

for the singular coincidences between the effigy of King John on the lid of his coffin and the body within it, when discovered a few years ago." At the Abbey some funeral effigies—one as early as Edward III. it is thought—are preserved. * I cannot find the passage.

may have been done subsequently from the tomb effigy.

The bronze of Henry VII. is, I think, the original from which Holbein drew his cartoon now at Chatsworth.

Not only the effigies but the small figures of weepers standing around some of the tombs were at least *intended* to be portraits. Those of the tomb of Edward III. are obviously in the likeness of the persons whose arms are placed below, and a mediæval document indexed in Bentley's Cartulary says that they were images of all the king's sons and daughters. A list seems also to have been made of the weepers around Queen Philippa's tomb. There cannot be a doubt that, although the arms once painted on the shields around John of Eltham's tomb have been obliterated, these figures represent Edward II., Queen Isabella, Edward III., and other royal relations.

Royal Epitaphs.

Notwithstanding the many volumes which contain collections of the epitaphs, a critical account of those which were original or mediæval has never been given.

The usual authorities are, a tract by Camden,* first published in 1600, Weever's collection, 1631, and Keepe's, 1683. Camden's tract seems to have been sold in the church, and was, in fact, the first guide book † to it.

The epitaphs of the abbots were collected by Flete, *c.* 1450, for his MS. "Lives of the Abbots,"

* "*Reges*," &c.

† Brenchley Rye. "Travellers in England."

now in the Abbey library; they are also given in the Sporley MS. at the British Museum, which also contains the inscriptions from the shrine and mosaic floor. They were printed by Widmore, 1751. A part of Camden's collection must have been transcribed from Sporley's or a similar MS.

Skelton, the poet, it is said, "collected the epitaphs of such of our kings, princes, and nobles as then lay buried in the Abbey," but Widmore, failing to find this account, raised doubts as to its ever having had an existence.* Weever, however, seems to have used a different MS. from those now known. He gives epitaphs of Queen Matilda, Abbot Islip, and others, not now obtainable from other sources, and he refers to a Cottonian MS. "wherein are divers funeral collections and other inscriptions gathered about the time of the Dissolution."

Again, it has been too hastily assumed that such of the inscriptions as were not monumental but "written on tablets" were not ancient. Dean Stanley says that Skelton, while in sanctuary, wrote "the doggerel epitaphs which were hung over the royal tombs." Keepe, indeed, tells us that "two ancient tablets in writing, with many verses written by Skelton," were suspended at the tomb of Henry VII. These, however, were signed by the poet with his titles of laureate and king's orator, and they were official eulogies which belonged to the tomb from the time of its completion, and themselves become evidence of an ancient custom. They were dated 1512, and as the poet died in 1529,

* See Widmore's account of writers on the Abbey.

his verses must belong to the old order of things. He represented the king's versifiers, who, as Warton pointed out, can be traced back to the thirteenth century.

A famous church in the Middle Ages was crowded with inscriptions on walls, monuments, glass, pictures, and many hanging tablets. A church was in every way a thing to be read.

In old St. Paul's a table of its dimensions hung from the fourteenth century. A short chronicle was placed there about 1432, and Dugdale gives several epitaphs written on tablets, and two or three ancient ones appear in his plates. They were framed panels with sheets of parchment nailed to them. In 1351 John Holegh, citizen, made a bequest to Bow Church, and a record of it was to be "written on parchment and placed upon a tablet fixed at the foot of the image" which he gave. One remarkable example which still exists is a fifteenth-century account of Glastonbury Abbey, being three or four tablets hinged together.

At Westminster most of the longer epitaphs of the abbots must have been on tablets; some shorter inscriptions are distinguished as "cut in stone." At Henry V.'s chantry there was a tablet giving directions as to the masses. Caxton (*c.* 1475) tells us that the epitaph of Chaucer, buried before the chapel of S. Benedict, was written on a "table" hanging to a pillar.* Another tablet which hung by Sebert's tomb is described by Dart as "some

* Prologue to Boethius: "The body lieth . . . to face the chapel of St. Benet, by whose sepulture is written on a table hanging on a pillar his epitaphy. . . ." It was by Stephen Surigonus, poet laureate, and was thirty lines long.

writing not legible, in parchment, framed, I suppose placed there at the time of translating the body." Now these same verses, which are printed by Keepe and others, I find given in the Chronicle of Richard of Cirencester, a monk at the Abbey at the latter end of the fourteenth century.*

With all this before us we are prepared to believe that the royal epitaphs on tablets, of which this last was practically one, may also go back to the fourteenth or even to the thirteenth century. Of one of these royal epitaphs we have direct early evidence.

Matilda, queen of Henry I. (d. 1118), was buried in the old church and reinterred at the side of the Confessor's shrine. Now the fifteenth-century Register Book of Holy Trinity, Aldgate,† gives her epitaph "on a table which hung over her grave."

Hic jacet domina Matild̄ secūda bene Regina Anglōr . . .

Here lies the lady Maud, the Queen of the English, once wife of Henry I. and mother of Maud the Empress, who died the first day of May in the year of grace 1118, of whose goodness and probity, if we should go about to tell all, the day would be too short, &c. It may very well be that it is to this epitaph that Langtoft refers—

> "If any one will witten of her story
> At Westminster it is written readily."

In Keepe's time most of the royal tombs still had their "tables" by them. It has been objected that dates given on these epitaphs were not accurate,

* Rolls Series. † Liber Trinitatis.

but close examination shows that these wrong dates did not belong to the tablets.

In Keepe's Collection there are no less than four inscriptions given in connection with some of the tombs which he distinguishes by differences in his type. The tomb of Henry III., for instance, had (1) the monumental and existing inscription in French "round the verge"; (2) a three-line Latin epitaph in verse "on a table" (printed in italic); (3) a short inscription giving a wrong date (printed in Roman); (4) English verses translating the Latin table (printed in black-letter).

The inscription (3) which contains the wrong date is one of a series which were *painted* on the royal tombs; they agree in ending in short mottoes and giving dates in figures.

Vestiges of these inscriptions are still discoverable on the shrine, on the tombs of Edward I., Alianor, Henry V., &c., and they must all, like that on the shrine, be the work of Abbot Feckenham.

The English verses (4) are given in Fabyan's Chronicle (1516) as translations made by himself of "tables hanging on the tombs." Fabyan wrote his Chronicle about 1494 and died in 1513. In the fifteenth century, therefore, there were a series of written "Epitaphies" at the tombs, which were interesting enough to be transcribed and translated into "Ballad Royal."

Later the English versions made by Fabyan were also placed at the tombs to explain the originals.

The tablet epitaph on Henry III. "in monkish rymes" (Camden) is one of those printed by

Fabyan. It appropriately referred to the rebuilding of the church, and is, I have no doubt, authentic :

Tertivs Henricvs iacet hic pietatis amicvs
Ecclesiam stravit istam qvam post renovavit
Reddet ei mvnvs qvi regnat trinvs et vnvs.

The epitaph of Alianor, which Sandford says was on "a tablet of wood hanging in an iron chain," contained the words :

Foemina consilio prudens pia prole beata
Auxit amicitiis auxit honore virum.*

Of Edward I. a part of the epitaph which Fabyan says was hung out over the tomb ran :

Corde leopardus invictus et absque pavore
Ad rixam tardus discretus et eucharis ore.

Fabyan quotes some lines on Edward, which are also given by the Continuator of Matthew of Westminster as by another "verse-maker," and in subsequent works these appear at the end of the long inscription. Another "large epitaph in prose" on Edward I. is given in Camden's "Remains" ; it was "affixed at the altar of St. Edward, near his tomb."

Camden gives the epitaph of Henry the Fifth.† Sandford, Keepe, and others have printed the long epitaphs on tablets at the tombs of Philippa and Richard II.

If ancient inscriptions have been neglected much has been made of one of the modern ones. The legend painted on the tomb of Edward I. which

* The monumental inscription from Alianor's tomb has been given on p. 288. By some oversight the excellent Deanery guide says that that of Henry III.'s tomb no longer exists. † "Remains."

contained the epithet *Scottorum Malleus* and the motto *Pactum Serva* belongs to the series of inscriptions painted on the monuments in the time of Feckenham, each of which ended in such a motto. It is impossible to say from the general character of these mottoes whether this one, which Bishop Stubbs tells us Edward "took for his motto," and which Mr. York Powell thought so characteristic, was even selected to apply to the king, and was not merely a sentiment addressed to the reader.*

The tomb itself is quite a puzzle, being a simple chest of black marble absolutely without adornment or engraved inscription. It must show either the austerity of Edward I. or the neglect of his son. I incline to the view that it was prepared by himself.

Langtoft, who brings his Chronicle down to the death of Edward I., says that he was buried :—
"A Westmonster, in toumbe de marbre ben polye."

Miss Strickland translates from William of Worcester the original epitaph once at the tomb of Queen Katherine in the Lady Chapel.

> Death, daring spoiler of the world, has laid
> Within this tomb the noble clay that shrined
> Queen Katherine's soul ; from the French king derived
> Of our fifth Harry wife ; . . .

The long monumental inscription, once on the tomb of William de Valence, half-brother to Henry III., is also given by Camden, and Keepe says it was

* I am assuming that the tomb is the only authority for the association with Edward ; the words *pactum serva sanum* occur in a poem, *c.* 1260. Wright's Political Songs.

around the verge of the tomb, and of "Saxon letters," that is, what we call Lombardio. Sandford describes, and gives the inscriptions from the tombs of the infant Margaret of York (1472) and of Elizabeth Tudor (1495). The existing inscriptions on the tombs of Edward III., Richard II., and others may be found in most collections. In all these epitaphs we have a considerable number of historical documents, which deserve careful scrutiny and editing. The heraldry of the tombs, referred to in an appendix, also needs critical examination from the historical point of view.

Records of Tombs.

Our knowledge of the Abbey tombs seems at first to be merely traditional, but there has been, I believe, a continuity of record. There is now exhibited in the Chapter House a fragment of a schedule of the tombs in the writing of Camden. It is obvious from internal evidence that it must be a transcript from an old record written in the first case before the building of Henry VII.'s Chapel. The list of tombs in the Abbey given by Stow is also, as will be shown, based on such an authority which may still somewhere exist in its entirety.*

The following salient points are extracted from Camden's fragment, which is in Latin, and entitled "Corpora que tumulantur ecclesia mon. Beati Petri Westmonasterii "†:

* In the indices of the Hist. MSS. Comm. I have seen more than one List of Burials at Westminster.

† Or rather from a similar list printed in a single sheet at the British Museum, under a slightly different title, "Corpora Sepulta Beati . . ."

Imprimis, KING'S CHAPEL. In the midst the feretrum of Edward the Confessor ; on the left Edith his wife ; on the right Matilda, wife of Henry I. Item, on north (south) of the altar of the feretory, Margaret, daughter of Edward IV. On south (north) Edward and Elizabeth, children of Henry VII. [Tomb of this Edward not usually mentioned, d. 1499.]

Between the feretory and the tomb of Henry V. John and Margaret, son and daughter of William de Valentia.

HIGH ALTAR, on the right Walter Wenlock, Abbot.

S. ANDREW'S CHAPEL. Abbot Kirton in the midst.

S. MICHAEL'S, the next chapel, William Trussel under image of S. George. [Trussel, according to Stanley, was first Speaker of Parliament. Fabyan speaks of him as the procurator of Parliament under Edward II. who pronounced the deposition of the king. Is it not possible that the foliated cross still in this chapel may be Trussel's memorial ?]

S. JOHN EVANGELIST, the next chapel ; John Harpendon at the corner ; Abbot Estney at his feet. [Both brasses now in ambulatory : these tombs formerly made the screen of the chapel. See Dart ; also drawing in Islip Roll.]

[ISLIP.] In the next chapel John Islip [d. 1533], who built and adorned it ; also Hugh Vaughan and his wife Anne.

S. MARY THE LITTLE, *S. John Baptist* [as correction], Thomas Vaughan. At the left of the

altar Abbot Fascet [1500], and at his feet Bishop Thos. Routall [1523]. In the next, *the same* [as correction], chapel of St. John Baptist, William Colchester and Thos. Millying, Abbots [these corrections show some double dedication; the abbots' tombs are certainly in their original positions, forming the screens—see next section].

S. PAUL. Between the door and altar L. Robeshart; under the pavement Michael, Bishop of S. Asaph; under the second steps of the door Rudolph chaplain to the Bishop of Carlisle. On the north, by the wall, in marble, Peter Calhan, citizen, A.D. MCCCLVIII.

S. MARYS. [The Lady Chapel.] In the middle, Katherine, wife of Henry V. On left of altar, Katherine, daughter of Duchess of Norfolk. On right, William Atclyffe, secretary to Edward IV. To the north, Thos. de Wells and William Stoner.

S. ERASMUS. Ann, daughter of Duke of Norfolk. [Henry VII. is not mentioned in Lady Chapel; moreover, Katherine's coffin was removed for the works at the new chapel, and never put back. The chapel of S. Erasmus must also be the old chapel attached to Lady Chapel. Ann was daughter-in-law to Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville, its foundress.]

[AMBULATORY.] Outside the south entrance to the chapel of S. Mary—Richard Harowden, Abbot. Outside the door of S. NICHOLAS, in the pavement, Walter Hungerford, son of Edward Hungerford . . . of Edward III. . . . John Beverley with Amica [Buxtal, his wife. Matrices

of their brasses are still outside S. Edmund's Chapel] . . . Hugo [de Bohun: see below] . . .

[Abbot Harowden's grave seems to be certainly identifiable with that usually assigned to Berkynge. Stanley had the name of Harowden inserted in S. John Baptist's chapel close by Bishop Routall's tomb, because a pastoral staff and sandals were in 1879 found under that tomb. They are now in the Chapter House. It was supposed by Stanley and others that Bishop Routall's tomb had been brought to this place about 1600, and hence that the remains could not belong to the bishop—but why Harowden in any case? Routall's tomb must have occupied its present position from 1524 (blocking original entrance), the new entry to S. Paul's being made at or before the time of his burial through what is now called S. Erasmus chapel—see next section.]

The other list of tombs of which I have spoken is in the handwriting of Stow, and is in the Harleian Collection (544). It seems to be based on the same source as the last, for it follows the same order, and again omits Henry VII. It is given in inventory form like the last, with its "imprimis" and "item," and is evidently translated from a Latin original from which some words have been carried over. In this case also I make use of only a small part of this valuable document to compare with the other.

Imprimis, *The Shrine of St. Edward:* Queen Maud on the right, Queen Editha on left.

Item, on right side of the altar Margaret, daughter of Edward IV. On the left Elizabeth, d. of Henry VII. At the end of the shrine Henry V.,

and John and Margaret, children of William de Valence. On the pavement by Edward III. Thomas of Woodstock, his son. *St. Michael's Chapel*, William Trussel; *St. Mary the Little*, Sir Thos. Vaughan ; *St. John Evangelist*, Sir John Hampden [Harpendon] ; *St. Paul's*, Sir Lewis Robsart, Sir Giles Daubigny in the midst ; *Our Lady's Chapel.* In the middle lyeth Queen Katherine: John, Viscount Wells, Katherine, daughter of the Duchess of Norfolk.

St. Erasmus. Anne, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, Sir Thos. Hungerford. *St. Nicholas.* In the little tomb lieth Hugh and [Mary], son and daughter of Humphrey de Bohun and Elizabeth his wife ; Philippa, Duchess of York, &c. &c. Outside the chapel, Walter Hungerford, son of Edward Hungerford, Sir John Beverley, or Burley, and Anne his wife. Sir John Golofer lyeth by Richard II.

St. Thomas. William and Blanche, children of Edward III., John of Eltham and William de Valence, Eleanor de Bohun, Humphrey Bourchier, Bernard Brocas.

"There resteth the bones of the children of King Edward I. and Henry III. in number nine. At the entrance to the same: Robert and William Browne, Esquires," &c. &c. [This last paragraph is written as if the tomb of the children of Edward I. was in the chapel rather than near "the entrance to the same," but that must be a mistake of transcription.

The tomb of the young De Bohuns was, we here see, in St. Nicholas's, and we seem to be justified in supposing that the Hugo of the former list refers

to this tomb. Hugh died 1304, Mary, 1305. Camden, in "Reges," says the tomb of Hugh and Mary was in St. John Baptist's, on the left, and Keepe's account leaves no doubt that the tomb on the north side of this chapel is that which was pointed out as theirs. Except that it looks too early in style there is nothing against supposing that it had been shifted to this place. It is owing to a misplacing of his notes that in his printed survey Stow makes Chaucer to have been buried in the cloister instead of before St. Benet's Chapel, as Caxton says. This mistake, however, is frequently repeated even to-day.

The Abbots' Graves.

The greater number of the tombs of the abbots have disappeared, and in regard to them we are in the main dependent on Flete's and Sporley's MSS. From the latter* the notes within brackets are taken.

1049–72. Edwin [buried in the cloisters.]

1072–76. Galfridus.

1076–81. Vitalis [south side of cloister, *under a small slab of white marble at the feet of Gervase.*]

1082-1121. Gislebertus [south side of cloister, *at feet of Vitalis, in a tomb of black marble upon which is his image, with a pastoral staff but no mitre*, and his epitaph cut in the marble.]

1121–40. Herebert [south side of cloister, under a flat slab, near the bell].

1140–59. Gervase [south side of cloister, *under a small black marble stone at the feet of William de Humez.*]

* Claud. A. 8.

1159–75. Lawrence. This abbot obtained the right to wear the mitre, but he died before the grant arrived * [South side of cloister, under *a white marble stone, with his image without a mitre at the feet of Gilbert*, and his epitaph cut in the marble].

1175–91. Walter [south side of cloister, near the bell].

1191–1200. William Postard [south side of cloister, near the bell].

1200–14. Radulphus [in nave].

1214–22. William de Humez [south side of cloister *at the head of Gervase, under a marble stone, with his image sculptured in pontificalibus*].

It is evident from the above descriptions that five of the tombs formed a group, three had effigies, and two were slabs. They were in this order, the capitals representing effigies.

LAWRENCE, 1175.	GILBERT, 1121.	Vitalis, 1082.	Gervase, 1159.	HUMEZ, 1222.
Effigy in white, no mitre.	Effigy in black, no mitre.	Small white slab.	Small black slab.	Effigy with mitre.

Now there are in the south walk of the cloister three early effigies, but the names derived from the MS. have been applied to them so variously that attempts at proper identification have been given up. Keepe, in 1633, rightly names three tombs in this order—Lawrence, Gilbert, Vitalis. The third name he gives to "a plain white marble stone heretofore covered with plates of brass." It is certain that this does not describe the third *effigy*, which now bears the name of Vitalis. He, however, makes the mistake of assigning the immense black slab, which covers the monks who died in the plague, to

* R. de Diceto, in Rolls Series.

Gervase. Dart, 1723, on his plan, put the three names—Lawrence, Gilbert, Vitalis—to the three existing effigies. In his text, however, he corrects this, and puts Humez for Vitalis as "the westernmost of the three." The names which were cut on the effigies about 1740 follow Dart's plan instead of his text. Hence most of the confusion.*

When we find that the MS. (*c.* 1460) describes three effigies which not only correspond to those now existing in proper order, but that these agree perfectly in style with the dates which fit the names given in the MS., there seems to be sufficient proof that they represent the abbots as now follows in order from east to west :

Lawrence, 1175, the most eastern effigy, in hard white shelly oolite, large, much worn, no mitre.

Gilbert, 1121, middle effigy, low relief in black marble, plainly the oldest in style, and almost certainly imported from Tournay ; right hand holds staff, no mitre, traces of a book in left hand ; his epitaph spoke of his learning in the seven arts, and some of his works still exist.

William de Humez, 1222, western effigy, hard whitish oolite, high relief, much worn, with mitre and fully vested ; right hand blesses, staff lies across body, it must have been held in left hand. The engravings of Dart and Gough confirm some of the points above suggested from an examination of

* It is curious that Keepe should overlook the third *effigy*, but in his MS. collection in my possession he speaks of three. Widmore pointed out that the effigy inscribed Vitalis is Humez. One source of the confusion is that Camden's, the earliest printed list, does not mention Humez at all, nor does Dingley.

the tombs. Lawrence seems to have had his hands clasped on his breast. The tombs of Vitalis and Gervase seem to be lost. Sandford (1683) says that the epitaph of Gervase was in "Saxon letters, nearly defaced," in black marble, and he prints it in what we call Lombardic capitals. Widmore says that he saw the name ABB^{s} WALTERIVS on the wall of the south cloister, and only the other day for the first time I noticed not far from the refectory door on the second course above the seat the letters ABB 3 inches high and in the style of the thirteenth century. (Fig. 120.)

Fig. 120.—On S. wall of Cloister

1222–46. *Richard de Berkinge* [was buried before the middle altar of the Lady Chapel under an ornamental marble tomb. In the time of William of Colchester, a flat slab with a brass was substituted]. A reason for this alteration may be found in the making of Queen Katherine's tomb in the centre of the old chapel.* Keepe says that when Henry VII.'s Chapel was built his slab was put at the foot of the steps of the same. Dart identifies it with the matrix of a brass on the right, but, as has been shown, this is Harowden's tomb. The ancient slab right in the centre also has traces of a brass,† and that must be Berkinge's tomb-slab.

* At the inquiry made in 1498 as to the burial-place of Henry VI. it was reported that he once "went into the Lady Chapel and there beheld the tomb of Queen Katherine," which it was suggested should be put "somedele lower," and his own tomb *put between it and the altar.*

† *Cf.* Neale.

1246–58. *Richard Crokesley.* Matthew of Westminster tells us that he was authorised to celebrate mass like a pontiff,* and that he dedicated a chapel of St. Edmund near the north door of the church. [He was buried in the chapel of St. Edmund, which he had made, but later, when that was destroyed at the building of the new nave, he was reinterred in the chapel of St. Nicholas, under a large slab with his figure, but was again shifted in the time of Henry VI.] In 1866 an abbot's coffin was found under the High Altar, and it is possible, as Stanley suggests, that this was Crokesley's last resting-place.

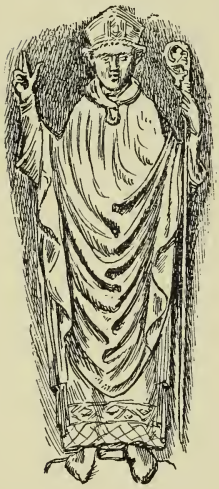


Fig. 121.—Abbot Ware. From his seal

1258–6. *Philip de Lewisham.*

1259–83. Richard de Ware. [He was buried under the porphyry floor on the north side by A. de Valence.] This agrees exactly with the parallelogram of mosaic on the north side, which shows evidence of having had a strip of (presumably inscribed) brass around it ; and under it a coffin was found in 1866.

1283–1308. Walter de Wenlock. [He was buried close to the High Altar, outside the south door to the feretory, under an ornamental slab.] This situation is exactly in front of the sedilia, which were probably his work.

1308–15. Richard de Kedyngton [was buried

* The indult of 1246 entitling him to give episcopal blessing exists. "Papal Letters," Rolls Series.

before the Great Altar in the lower pavement, near the Paschal candle, towards the south, under a slab with his image *in pontificalibus* engraved in brass].

1315–33. William de Curtlington [was buried before the altar of S. Benedict, south side of church, near Sir J. Shoreditch, under a slab with his image in pontificals engraved in brass].

1333–44. Thomas Henley [was buried by the Paschal candle, but on the north side]. On the north side of the centre of crossing a tomb has been found. See Stanley's "Memorials," 1st edition.

1344–49. Simon Byrcheston [was buried in the cloister before the entance to the Chapter House, by the door to the dormitory, under a marble slab.] This part of the cloister is almost certainly his work. Dart says he saw the coffin-shaped slab here.

1349–62. Simon Langham [tomb of alabaster, by the altar of S. Benedict]. Still existing.

1362–86. Nicholas de Litlington [buried before the altar of S. Blase, under an ornamental slab : *end of Sporley MS. Claud. A.* 8.] Widmore seems to have seen the tomb, now unidentifiable.

1386–1420. William de Colchester. Effigy still exists in chapel of St. John Baptist, the letters W and C on pillow.

1420–40. Richard Harowden : buried outside south entrance to Henry VII.'s Chapel. The large slab with vestiges of a brass, usually said to be Berkinge's must be his (see p. 242 above.)

1440–62. Edmund Kyrton, buried in S. Andrew's Chapel. Matrix of his brass still remains. See Dart, Gough, and Harding for brass.

1462–69. George Norwich.

1469–74. Thomas Millying: buried in chapel of St. John Baptist. Keepe says the tomb was removed on the erection here of the Exeter monument, and suggests that the coffin now above Fascet's tomb may be his, but this coffin is of the thirteenth century.

1474–98. John Estney: buried in chapel of St. John Evangelist. Brass now in north ambulatory.

1498–1500. George Fascet: tomb still in chapel of St. John Baptist.

1500–33. John Islip: buried in the lower chapel, built by himself, as represented on the Roll at the Society of Antiquaries.*

The Chapels.

As now named the chapels may be traced back through Dugdale and Camden to the XVIth century. Then in the lists of tombs just given we find Little St. Mary's and S. Thomas's named. The former was, we saw, associated with S. John Baptist's, and the Will of Eleanor Bohun (before 1399) which directs that she shall be buried "in the Chapel of S. Edmund King and of S. Thomas of Canterbury" (near the body of her husband it proceeds) shows conclusively that S. Edmund was a second dedication of S. Thomas's.

The "Customs," of Abbot Ware, mentions the following chapels or altars: 1. The Lady Chapel; 2. St. Katherine's or the Infirmary Chapel; 3. S. Faith's, in charge of the Revestrar; 4. Quire altar;

* For some particulars of elections of abbots see "Papal Letters," Rolls Series and Historical MSS., Report IV.

5. Holy Cross altar ; 6. S. Paul's and the Crucifix on the Pulpitum ; 7. Old S. Mary's ; 8. Trinity ; 9. S. Benedict's ; 10. St. Dunstan's ; 11. St. Lawrence. From many references we know that 2 was dedicated to S. Katherine before Henry III. rebuilt the church ; 3 is evidently the vestry, and the ancient altar there still has a thirteenth-century painting of S. Faith above it ; 4 was the Matins altar under the lantern (see p. 21) ; 5 the Nave altar (see p. 26) ; 6 afterwards Jesus altar above ; 7 "by the north door" (see p. 26) ; 8 Nave, south altar (see p. 26). Caxton says that the Confessor here saw the vision at this altar (Golden Legend) ; 9 as at present ; 10 St. Dunstan's is the chapel under the dormitory (see p. 162) ; St. Lawrence was probably a side altar in the Infirmary Chapel.

There was an altar of St. Mary in the chapel of the Infirmary, and this and St. Lawrence were probably the altars at the ends of the side aisles. At the great altar of St. Katherine's were images of the Virgin, St. John, and St. Katherine.

In the latter half of the fourteenth century the several apsidal, transeptal, and other chapels were refurnished and enclosed with new screens. According to a document given in Stanley's "Memorials,"* William Sonwell fitted the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, and Mary of St. Paul dedicated the alabaster image of the Virgin in the same place. Richard Merston, prior, fitted the altar of St. Blase. Thomas Peverel gave the screen of St. Thomas', the painting at the altar of St. Benedict, the image of St. Mary at the foot of the tomb of Cardinal

* Third Edition.

Langham, and the altar of St. Nicholas. John Palmer had the screen and all that belongs to the altar of St. Andrew made in the time of Edward III., and Edward Kirton renewed it. Roger Kirton and John Savary gave the altar of St. Michael St. Martin and All Saints and its screen. Brother Richard of Cirencester (the Chronicler) gave the painting at the altar of St. Helen's and the

Fig. 122.—Cresting of Screen of Chapel of St. Andrew

image of St. Mary. And J. Morton gave the screen of the Trinity altar and the picture of St. Katherine.

The chapels and altars mentioned here are: I. St. Michael St. Martin and All Saints; II. St. John Evangelist; III. St. Blase; IV. St. Helen; V. St. Katherine; VI. Trinity; VII. St. Thomas; VIII. St. Benedict; IX. St. Nicholas; X. St. Andrew.

The names of altars in the middle of the fifteenth century may be found also in an MS. at the British Museum, being a list of the masses at the several altars. I. The great altar; II. St. Trinity; III. Holy Cross; IV. Chapel of St. Mary; V. Chapel of the same name by the north

door ; VI. St. John Baptist ; VII. St. John Evangelist ; VIII. St. Paul ; IX. St. Andrew ; X. St. Thomas the Martyr ; XI. The altar at the Shrine of St. Edward ; XII. St. Dunstan ; XIII. St. Martin ; XIV. St. Nicholas ; XV. St. Blase ; XVI. St. Benedict ; XVII. Chapel of St. Katherine ; XVIII. Chapel of St. Anne ; XIX. St. Helen. [IX. as at present ; XIII. the St. Michael St. Martin and All Saints of the last list, the present St. Michael ; XV. St. Blase was in the south-west corner of south transept enclosed by a screen ; XVIII. probably the St. Anne by the almonry of Stow ; XIX. a note in Leland shows that St. Helen's was in the nave, and from an agreement made in 1298 between the monastery and Master William Wendone regarding a priest to sing at the altars of Holy Cross and St. Helen we may suppose that they were together.]*

The Suppression Inventory mentions : I. St. Andrew's ; II. St. Michael's ; III. St. Nicholas' ; IV. St. Edward's ; V. King Henry V.'s ; VI. St. Edmund's ; VII. Lady Margaret's ; VIII. St. John Evangelist ; IX. St. John Baptist ; X. Jesus Chapel beneath ; XI. Jesus Chapel above ; XII. St. Paul's. [V. is Henry V.'s Chantry, otherwise Chapel of the Annunciation ; VII. In Henry VII.'s Chapel ; X. and XI. the Nave and Rood-loft altars.] In the Inventory of Church Goods, (Ex. Q.R. 1032), the last are called the Jesus Chapel and Rood Chapel. When Henry VII.'s Chapel was built its high altar retained its dedication to the Virgin. The Chantry altar at the king's tomb was St. Saviour's. The chapels round about were also

* Herne. "Black Book of the Exchequer," p. 228.

prepared for altars, seven in all; for the probable dedications of these, see Mr. Micklethwaite's description of the statues in *Archæologia* xlvii.

In the time of Edward IV. a chapel of St. Erasmus had been built against the older Lady Chapel, and both were destroyed by Henry VII. Mr. Micklethwaite has suggested* that a recess made in the time of Richard II. between the chapels of the Evangelist and Baptist for a precious image, or "object of high value," was enlarged by Islip to

Fig. 123.—Inscription over door of Chapel

take the place of the destroyed chapel of St. Erasmus. We have seen that Mary of St. Paul, wife of Aymer de Valence, gave an alabaster image of the Virgin to the Evangelist's Chapel. Her will shows that she died in 1377. She left to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, for the maintenance of a chantry-priest in the chapel near the tomb of her husband, a sum of money; also a gold cross with gold stand set with emeralds, which William de Valence had brought from the Holy Land, two images of St. Peter and St. Andrew, a gold chalice, and two tapestries of her husband's arms.

We have seen also that the present chapel of St. John Baptist, which is next to the Evangelist's Chapel, was associated with a chapel called Little

* *Archæologia*, xliv.

St. Mary in such a way that some confusion arose between them. I would suggest on this that the recess formed "about 1380" just at the back of the altar of St. John Evangelist was made to contain Mary of St. Paul's image of the Virgin and other gifts, and from the image it may have come to be called Little St. Mary's. It is significant that on the boss of the vault was carved the Assumption of the Virgin. The image in the niche had "rays from its head painted on the wall." This shows, I think, that the figure here was one of the Virgin.

At the time that it was enlarged by Abbot Islip the piece of alabaster tabernacle-work which probably contained an image of St. Erasmus and came from the older chapel of that name, was set up over the entrance. About 1524 Bishop Routall's tomb was built, blocking up the old door into St. John Baptist's Chapel, and the little chapel was altered once more into a passage way, as at present.* I do not think that Little St. Mary's ever became the Chapel of St. Erasmus; the inscription over the door referred more probably to the statue. Weever and other old writers speak of Islip's Chapel as that of St. Erasmus.

Islip's own two-storey chapel took up the eastern half of what had been the Evangelist's Chapel. Above, on its east wall, are vestiges of the early tracery which once panelled it, like that in St. Benedict's Chapel opposite. It was cut away to take the painting shown on the Islip Roll drawing

* Poole's suggestion as to Routall's tomb is not justified by the evidence. Lond. and Midx. Archæol. Soc., vol. vi.

of this chapel, which gives an accurate representation of several features which are now lost. In the niches of the front, for instance, are shown five images of St. John Evangelist, St. Peter, Christ, the Baptist, and St. Giles.

There seem never to have been any chapels in the eastern aisle of the South Transept. This aisle must have formed the usual approach for the kings from the palace through the small door called the "postern" in the south-east corner of this transept. When the earliest plans of the church were made the gates of the ambulatory were in the position they now occupy, those to the south being one bay further east than those to the north. We can carry this arrangement back to mediæval days by the evidence of the paving which follows this arrangement, and it is probably original.

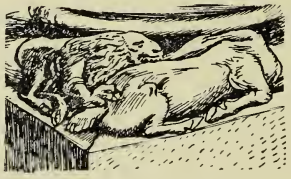


Fig. 124 —From Marble base N.W. angle of Crossing

APPENDIX

WHAT IS GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE?

The word Gothic is found applied to post-Roman, pre-Renaissance building, by Raphael. It is now taken to mean the Mediæval architecture of Western Europe, although some writers, while accepting this use, try at the *same time* to give it a narrower meaning of their own. Some have seen in it the architecture of pointed arches, or of traceried windows, or of ribbed vaults, or of buttresses.*

The word "Gothic" might be given to any of these by any writer; but while the equation, Gothic=Mediæval, stands, any other limitation, save by time and place, is based on misunderstanding.

Thus, Roman architecture is the architecture of the Roman civilisation. One age has seen in it the true, the revealed architecture of antiquity—another the architecture of "orders"—another of coarse copying of Greece—another of engineering construction—another of modernism. These things may be characteristic, and one of them may be the chief characteristic, but it would be a misapprehension to "define" Roman architecture by any of them.

If Roman architecture consisted in such externals as these we could easily be Roman architects ourselves. If buttresses were the signature of Gothic, then we have this architecture with us to-day. But surely Gothic architecture was not merely an affair of such "features" as these; there was a Gothic life, and there had to be Gothic tool-strokes and Gothic mortar. There must have been ideas in this art which have even yet never been guessed at.

It is a mistake, then, and leads to much confusion, while accepting the generic meaning of the word "Gothic," to make it fit some other narrower meaning. It is our business to measure phenomena, not to shape and cut *them* down to fit our foot-rules. Gothic architecture means the art of building of Western Europe in the Middle Ages. We also get narrow definitions given to the word "architecture," so that the meaning proposed

* See Mr. Bond's fine volume, which calls for notice because it is so important and the most recent pronouncement on Gothic architecture in England.

to be given to Gothic architecture works out something like this : Projects for buttressed buildings.*

Applying the buttress test, it is said that we may include such things as the Eleanor Crosses as Gothic, but that is surely a mistake, for these have no true buttresses, but only carved models of buttresses, and such Gothic as that would be only skin-deep. While Westminster Abbey was building Henry III. erected a great belfry, opposite its north front. It was a strong stunted tower, over 70 feet square, with never a break, and most admirably fitted for its work of carrying a great oscillating bell-cage. Was the church Gothic, and the belfry, built together with it, not Gothic ? Was Gothic art, by its essence, unfitted to deal with belfries and town palaces and castles ? Are the magnificent flat fronts of Louvain, Bruges and Ypres not Gothic ? Are Conway and Coucy not Gothic ?

This buttress view of Gothic art not only confines itself to churches, but it is a side-elevation view even of them. It does little to explain the west fronts of Amiens or Reims, nothing to explain Rouen and Lyons, Lichfield and Peterborough. Mr. Bond, after having worked down his definition to the point that "Gothic architecture is the art of erecting buttressed buildings," and that "the universal element in Gothic is . . . the buttress," adds to his definition the words, "also of doing work which possesses the chief characteristics of building so constructed." This saving clause just sponges out the definition into such vagueness that, after all, we may, as we must, call anything Gothic which is mediæval. But the idea that the thing Gothic can be driven into definitions narrower than its whole field, leads to curious pitfalls of reasoning.

But is the use of buttresses the chief characteristic of Mediæval Building ? I do not think that it is even this. The development of buttresses followed on the developed use of the ribbed vault, on the concurrent growth of the window, and on the increasing display of stained glass. As to this last, if we take the most perfectly adjusted works, like the Ste. Chapelle, or St. Urbain at Troyes, we find that the stained glass gives one dominating reason for the far-projecting exterior buttresses. Had it not been for the stained-glass ideal, which necessitated that the plane of the glass should be kept near the *inner* surface of the bearing masonry, so that its imagery should not be hid in a raking view, we can hardly conceive that the windows would not have been

* Bond, pp. 2 and 11.

put flush with the outer face of the buttresses which would have disappeared, and that, instead of them, we should have had large respond-piers in the interior, and thereby gained greater space with equal structural outlay.

The buttress was never an end in itself, in one sense it was only a symptom, but of course its use did react on the possibilities within the reach of the true controlling ideal of the mediæval masons, and great *flying* buttresses are perhaps the most specialised features of High Gothic. The controlling ideal was not the vault merely, or the window, or, least of all, the buttress—but all of these, and more than all, together. It was the ideal of the most energetic construction. It was the endeavour after that ultimate "proportion" conditioned by exploring the most that may be done by balancing stones one upon another. This is what Morris named organic building. It is what the old masons' books seem to mean by geometry, that is, the laws of structure. It is what Villars de Honnecourt called *bonne moçonnerie*. Gothic architecture was the art of the craftsmens' guilds.

TRACERIED WINDOWS.

It was Scott's view that the Westminster windows were the earliest of their kind in England. Mr. Bond, while admitting that we followed France in this particular, claims that important windows at Binham, old St. Paul's, and Netley were anterior to those at Westminster. Geometrical tracery of this kind, he says, came into use "not later than 1240 in Binham, Netley, and old St. Paul's." The Presbytery of old St. Paul's, he says, was consecrated in 1240. From Hollar's etchings we know that the eastern limb of the Cathedral had fine traceried windows of three, four, and five lights, which look almost Decorated in type. Can such windows have been built before 1240? Turning to Dugdale we find that, at St. Paul's, a new choir, together with a central steeple, was begun in 1221 and perfected in 1240. The choir-stalls were being made in 1236. Can one suppose that such windows were built about 1230? I think not. Now Dugdale tells how a great extension of the Cathedral was begun in 1256, covering the ground of St. Faith's Church, and called in a contemporary document, "the new work at the head of the church." The main brunt, he says, of this work was over by 1283, but it was not till 1312 that the pavement of this new work was made. There is no distinction to be observed in the

windows of the eastern limb of St. Paul's, and we must suppose that they all belong to the period 1256–83.

As to the east window of Netley, which Mr. Bond says was begun in 1239, there seems to be evidence, on the illustration given on his p. 471, that it was an insertion, and Mr. St. John Hope tells me that he noted many years ago that it had been cut into earlier work. The windows at Winchester Hall are also inserted.

Now for Binham. Its west window is a very fine work of eight lights having *cusped heads*, as well as developed tracery, which I think we should all date, on its merits, as built about 1260–70, and Mr Bond remarks how closely it resembles the east window of Lincoln, which he dates after 1256, and before 1288, and supposes may have been derived from Binham—yet its lights are *uncusped*. Of Binham, Matthew of Paris says that Prior Richard, 1226–44, built the front of the church to the roof. Are we compelled to think that this great window in an out-of-the-way Priory is earlier than the windows of Westminster? I do not think so. The front may have been rebuilt after the time of Matthew of Paris or, more likely, it may not be the *West* Front which was in question. At the time Matthew of Paris wrote it was the custom to call the east end of a church the front, and, within a few lines, in the poetic description of Westminster, written c. 1270, we find these two phrases: Of the apse—"Le frunt vers orient fait rund"; of the Chapter House—"Cloistre i fait, chapter a frunt vers orient vousé et rund."

THE INFLUENCE OF WESTMINSTER.

The work at Westminster exercised an enormous influence upon subsequent buildings in England. Its erection marks the close of the lancet, and the opening of the geometrical period.

Of direct imitations the most complete, as regards the plan, at least, was Hayles Abbey, the foundations of which have lately been uncovered. The chevet of this church was begun in 1271, and as it was built at the cost of the brother of Henry III., it is likely, I think, that Robert de Beverley, the mason at Westminster at this time, may have given a draft for it. The radiating chapels at the not far-distant Abbey of Tewkesbury were probably, in turn, derived from Hayles. Tewkesbury also contains some "triangular" windows like those in the nave of Westminster, and similar windows, clearly derived from our Abbey, are to be found at Lichfield and Hereford.

APPENDIX

The eastern wall of the great new work begun at St. Paul's in 1256 was, as already remarked, modelled on the transept ends of Westminster. A similar great extension at Lincoln, begun about the same time, shows in its splendid sculptured south porch, the finest now in England, a study of the north portal at the Abbey. At Lincoln the tympanum is filled by a very noble Majesty in a quatrefoil, beneath which is sculptured the separation of the just and the unjust, a subject which we have independently shown probably filled the Westminster tympanum.

The west door of Lichfield seems, in turn, to derive from Lincoln.

This last of the series has on each hand of the Majesty an angel, one carries the cross and the other a spear. Amiens, which stands at the head of the series, has also two angels carrying the cross and spear. If we turn back to Lincoln we find on the cast of the unrestored Majesty now at South Kensington two angels the hands of which are broken, but they obviously held instruments of the Passion ; the action of Christ who points to His wounds requires as much, although by an unhappy restoration the angels now carry censers. At Westminster too we may conclude that there were similar angels.

At Salisbury the Cloister and Chapter House were evidently inspired by those at Westminster. In the Chapter House, even minute points, like the carved extensions of the capitals of the stalls back to the wall, may be traced to this source.

Minor instances of affiliation are too numerous to mention ; two of the most striking are parts of the west front of Dunstable, and the well-known case of Stone Church, Kent.

ARCH TIES.

In old schools of architecture the use of iron and wood ties for binding arches was quite general. The most important *Byzantine* buildings—S. Sophia, Constantinople, and S. Demetrius, Salonika—have such ties throughout. Of the early *Arabic* school, the Dome of the Rock and the Aksa mosque have a series of ties at the springing of the arches. In *Lombard* buildings we find iron ties used even across external porch arches. At Borgo San Donnino the tie is shaped like that shown in Fig. 62. Our text sufficiently speaks of *Gothic* tie-bars in France and England. The Dean's porch at Lincoln has an external tie-bar. In Italy ties continued to be used through the Mediæval and *Renaissance* periods.

APPENDIX

MEDIÆVAL "ARCHITECTS."

Of France we are told that "this word did not come into use until the sixteenth century. Before then they only knew of the *master of the works*, the *master of works of masonry* or of carpentry. It was these who drew the plans, made the estimate and bought materials. . . . The mason Raymond du Temple, who rebuilt the Louvre in 1365, was called *maitre des œuvres de maçonnerie de monseigneur le roi*." His son Jean was "master of works of masonry to the church of Paris." "The word architect first appears in 1510." * That is in a professional sense; it is occasionally found before that time used in a somewhat rhetorical way in documents written in Latin.

One of the great features of mediæval civilisation was the winning of a position for the crafts. In the earlier Middle Ages I suspect that persons of the order of prefects of palaces, sacristans of abbeys, and the like, had to know a good deal about the practice of building, and prepared the rough outlines of schemes, calling on servile labour for the *customary* execution of the same; this customary execution must have included all that we call style. Yet neither those who ordered or those who wrought thought of that. The position occupied to-day by many an active steward, estate agent, factor, or clerk of works represents very well the conditions as to direction of works.

At the beginning of our enquiry it seems likely that we find such a person in Alnoth, the "ingeniator" (p. 105); although there is no reason why he should not have been a mason by training, I am not convinced that so he was.

We get an interesting indication of a transitional stage in the naming in 1237 of an early master of Henry III.'s, John of Waverley, mason (p. 115), as "brother." In 1231 an important work had just been completed at the Cistercian Abbey of Waverley, and it seems probable that John had been in charge. The early part of the thirteenth century was the central moment of change in England from monastic to lay art. Master John is, I think, the last monastic mason we hear of in connection with the king's work; but a generation later Master William of Westminster was the king's chief painter, and the most famous artist of the time was Walter of Colchester, a monk of St. Albans. As late as c. 1290 a monk of Bury was painter to Edward I. (p. 275). The lay masters more and more took the place of the monastic artists, and

* A. Franklin, "Dict. Hist. des Arts," 1905.

only the two mentioned above have I found named in the Westminster accounts.

In this generation much has been made of Elyas of Dereham as a supposititious architect, just as in the last generation much was said of William of Wykeham, but it may be questioned whether one more than the other was a true master builder. Elyas was canon of Salisbury at the time the new Cathedral was begun, and before that time had been keeper of the works for Henry III. at Winchester. He doubtless had a good deal of experience of building and a very pretty taste, and may from the employing side have had a good deal to do with the "design" of Salisbury, just as Henry III. probably had a good deal to say on the "design" of Westminster, but that he was in a special sense an architect has been too readily accepted on Walpole's identification of him with Elyas, *ingeniator* at the Tower, in 1209 it was said; but, as Brailey has pointed out, the date should be 1199, 10 R. I. instead of 10 John.

As Elyas of Dereham lived until 1245 and Elyas was a common name, the identification is most unlikely to be true.

MASONS AND CARPENTERS TO THE CITY.

It was the custom to appoint official masons and carpenters as surveyors to report on questions of encroachment, party-walls, and the like.

In the middle of the fourteenth century there were two of each trade. In 1300–1 Richard de Wytham was sworn as surveyor of stone party-walls and of work proper to a mason, and Robert Osekin and John Writele, carpenters, were sworn to survey work in their trade.* Writele died in 1305.

In 1309 Master Reginald de Swafham was sworn as surveyor of tenements "as far as pertained to the trade of a carpenter, according to the custom of the city." † Master Reginald died in 1314. The year before Master Simon de Pabenham and Master Alexander de Canterbury, mason, and Master Robert de Northampton, carpenter, were "sworn to make partition of tenements in the city," and acted with the Chamberlain in such a survey. Some years later, in 1320, Adam de Rothynge held the office. He and Katherine his wife lived in St. Martin's-in-the-Vintry. In 1325 John de Totenham was sworn in his place.‡

* Dr. Sharpe's Letter Book C.
† Letter Book E. ‡ *Ibid.*

Forty years later a John de Totenham (perhaps a son) was city carpenter. In 1363 he and Richard de "Salopia," carpenters, and Richard de Salynge (*see* p. 196) and Richard at Cherche, masons, were sworn as surveyors.

In 1367 the same carpenters, with Richard at Cherche and Thomas Barnet, masons, were "sworn in full hustings."

In 1369 the sworn carpenters were Richard "Shropshire" and Thomas Frant, and the sworn masons as last. In the next year the same four petitioned to be made free from taxes, as their predecessors in office had been for a hundred years. This was granted, as long as they remained in office.*

The number of names in this list, prepared on independent lines, of masons and carpenters whom we have found connected with the works at Westminster shows that in our enquiry as to those works we have become acquainted with many of the best craftsmen of the city in the Middle Ages.

FREEMASONS AND GUILDS.

Fresh explanations of the meaning of freemason are frequently being made. The two latest that I have seen are that the name took its rise from untaxed imported stone, or from masons of free condition. The evidence, however, points to the name being derived from free-working stone,† and it was applied to the hewers in distinction to the setters or wallers. In the Westminster accounts of 1253 this distinction between the white-stone cutters and layers already exists. See also our p. 204.

Several seals of craftsmen of Middle Ages have been preserved. The earliest mason's seal I have found is that of Walter Dixy of Barnwell (Cambs.). It is appended to a deed of 1312, and has the device of a mallet between a moon and a star, and about it S [igillum] WALTER LE MASON. There is no certain record of the establishment of the Masons' Guild in London, but it was in existence, and received an official grant of arms in 1473. The arms were a pair of compasses on a chevron between three castles, a coat which is sometimes found on masons' tombs; recently I saw one such mason described a "gentleman of coat armour."

In certain returns made in 1376 as to the numbers and members

* Letter Book G.

† Skeat gives free cutting as the meaning of freestone. In 1332 I find *Libera Petra* (Freestone) mentioned, and in 1311 *Franca Petra.*

of the several guilds returnable to the Common Council, the masons are said to be entitled to four and the freemasons to two.

We have seen them acting together as a corporation in the years 1315 and 1356; and as far back as we can trace the title "master" it seems that we may infer some sort of guild which conferred that mastership. In the fifteenth century there were yearly congregations of masters. In late days there was a separate marblers' guild.

The carpenters of London received a charter of incorporation in 17 Hen. IV. The names of the wardens of the guild are known from 1438, and the names of the masters from 1457. (See Jupp's "Carpenters' Company.")

The joiners are found acting as a corporation in 1309. (See Riley's "Memorials.") For the whole company of the blacksmiths see our p. 307. For the Painters' Guild see end note.

A MASON'S RECIPE.

In the Pipe Roll account for 1269–70 an item occurs for wax and pitch for making cement, and similar items occur more than once in the accounts for the Palace. In one instance, in 1324–7, 60lbs. of pitch were bought for cement, and 100 Flanders tiles to be pulverised for the same cement. In the book of Villars de Honnecourt we have a recipe for such a cement given in full:

"Take lime and pounded pagan (Roman) tile in equal quantities, adding a little more of the latter until its colour predominates. Moisten the cement with oil, and with it you can make a vessel (tank) that will hold water." Willis compares this with the "Mastic de dilh," whatever that may be. The recipe given by Villars is, I suppose, derived from the East, where, from early days, they have used a waterproof cement made of unslaked lime, crushed brick, filaments of cotton for binding, and linseed oil. Pliny mentions quicklime and oil used together.

MS. COLLECTION OF HERALDRY, 1680.

This volume, from the Phillipps Collection, is entitled "The History of St. Peter's, or Westminster Abbey, continued, being the eleventh and twelth chapters thereof . . . MDCLXXX." Written in another hand is "Exlibris Stephani Bateman, Interioris Templi, 1698." Collation with H. Keepe's "Monasterium," published in 1683, shows that the two have much

in common, as well in exact similarity of passages as in the scope and the order of arrangement. Keepe, who was of the Inner Temple, and died in 1688, had "projected a splendid edition" of his Westminster Collections parallel to Dugdale's St. Paul's, but he failed in getting it taken up, and had to content himself with the small volume.* I have no doubt that my heraldic MS. formed part of this Collection.

The inscription on the screen before the Chapel of St. Andrew's is given as follows :

Hoc Tibi Memoria Sacriste Kyrton et ora	I.H.S. on a ROSE.	Sibi post elega succedant Celica Regna
Ut fecit Spina Rosam Profert in Dea Mariã		Esto Flos Florum, Mortis Medicina Reor̃.
Hoc opus is Fecit et Sic Ornando Peregit.		M : etra Cent : Sexta Septem Teret.

HERALDRY.

The heraldry of the church would form a magnificent "roll of arms" of the best period. The English coat on the chapter house tiles is dated, as we have shown, *c.* 1258. The sculptured set of shields in the choir aisles are of incomparable excellence, and are of about the same period. The tombs of Alianor, of William de Valence, and of Edmund Crouchback furnish a long series of shields designed at just the turn of the thirteenth century. Those on tombs of Aymer de Valence, John of Eltham, Queen Philippa, and Edward III., all of the fourteenth century, are also models of heraldic style. The inimitable quality of these old charges came first from the spirit in which they were devised for a purpose, and from their perfect adjustments of drawing developed by frequent repetition. The beasts are marvels of fancy, and have little relation to the waddling lions and boiled eagles of modern blazons.

The carved shields of the choir aisles were eight in number on each side, and they reached as far as Henry III.'s work extended. After the nave was completed the series was continued in painting to the west end, all being coats of the period of Henry III. Above these, and above the carved shields, the names of those who once bore them were painted. See those of the two west bays on the south side. This was done, I think, by Abbot Feckenham, who painted so many inscriptions in the Confessor's

* Dict. Nat. Biog.

Chapel, and the painted arms of the nave may have been done at the same time. Keepe took his identifications of the shields from these inscriptions in "ancient English letters."

Two of the sculptured shields, those of Scotland and de Bohun, were displaced early in the eighteenth century, and are lost; the rest are preserved, even when shouldered out of their places by intruding monuments. The series includes the shields of the great barons of the kingdom at a most interesting moment. So far as I have been able to trace them, they were all living about 1255, and many of them signed the Provisions of Oxford in 1259. The shields cannot refer to a period later than this when the barons were in revolt. In 1265 Simon de Montford, whose arms are on the north side, was slain. The sixteen early shields (two in each bay) as traditionally assigned were :

	The Empire or Germany	1 First Bay	King Edward the Confessor	
	S. Louis of France	2	Henry III. of England	
N				S
O	Richd. de Clare	3	†Alexander III.	O
R	E. of Gloucester	Second Bay	of Scotland	U
T	Roger Bigod	4	Provence for	T
H	E. of Norfolk		Queen of H. III.	H
	Simon de Montford	5	Roger de Quincey	
S	E. of Leicester	Third Bay	E. of Winchester	S
I	John de Warrenne	6	Henry de Lacy	I
D	E. of Surrey		E. of Lincoln	D
E				E
	†Humph. de Bohun	7	Richard Earl of	
	E. of Hereford	Fourth Bay	Cornwall	
	Will. de Fortibus	8	R. Earl of	
	E. of Albemarle		Rothesay	

Why is not the coat of Castile and Leon here, since Edward married Alianor in 1253? Why is there no coat for Edward himself? Why does Germany appear as well as Cornwall, since Richard of Cornwall was himself elected Emperor in 1257? On consideration of these points, I am inclined to refer back the choice of these arms to a still earlier period, and to suggest that they represent those who were in some way associated with the building of the new work in 1245 or 1258. (See bottom of p. 156.)

APPENDIX

The earliest drawings I have seen of these shields are those in a heraldic MS. by Joseph Holland, dated 1585. They are there said to be "of benefactors towards the building of part of the said church."

Many early coats of arms which have disappeared from the tombs are tricked in the Collection of the "Lancaster Herald" (Lansd. MSS. 874). First comes a series undescribed, which were probably in the windows; then those on the screen in St. Andrew's Chapel, also undescribed, but I identify them from my own MS., where they are also drawn; then follow the arms on the tombs of Crouchback, of William de Valence, of Aymer de Valence, of Edward III., and of Queen Philippa, also those on many of the later monuments. In the Powell Collection at the British Museum some of the shields are more carefully drawn.

SEALS.

The earliest abbey seal is found on documents of the time of Abbot Herbert, *c.* 1130. In an oval, St. Peter, keys in hand, sits on a throne, his feet resting on a prostrate figure which must represent Nero. After the canonisation of the Confessor, 1169, a new seal was made, which appears on documents dated from 1201 to 1537. This is round; St. Peter, in mitre and pallium, keys in one hand, crozier in the other, is figured as before with his feet on Nero. The reverse shows the Confessor enthroned, holding a sceptre and a church in his hands, and with a prostrate figure, who must represent the King of the Danes, under his feet. A late impression of this seal (Egerton Charters, 361) is still beautifully sharp, and shows it to have been a very fine work; the St. Peter is especially noble. The earliest existing personal seal is that of Abbot Ware. A pointed oval with a beautiful figure of a mitred abbot, on either side of whom are heads of the Confessor and the Pilgrim. There is another seal of Harowden, with SS. Peter, John and Katharine in niches, the abbot praying below. A somewhat similar seal belonged to Islip. The seals of the sacristan, John Amundisham (1454), and the chamberlain, Thomas Brown (1509), are also preserved. They show St. Peter and the Confessor in tabernacles. The tombs of these two monks are in the North Ambulatory.

APPENDIX

THE CORONATION STONE.

From the sixteenth century, at least, this mysterious stone has been shown as Jacob's Pillow. L. von Widel, who visited the Church in 1584–5, says, "In the choir a chair was shown to us in which all the English kings were crowned. In this chair is enclosed a stone on which Jacob is said to have rested. On one sepulchre there was a sword twelve spans long, and of mighty weight, which belonged to King Ilwardus" [Edward III.].*

Volumes of matter have been written on this stone. In 1324 Robert Bruce appealed to Edward II. that the Scots might have restored to them the celebrated stone which King Edward, senior, had placed near the tomb of St. Edward. Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, had brought it from Egypt, and gave her name to the land which was before called Albania [Albion], and Moses had foretold that victory should follow the stone.†

Edward II. refused to give up what his father had taken as the best token of his victory, although an agreement was entered into in 1328 that it should be restored. The prophecy of Moses must be a reference to the well-known lines given by Fordun, *c.* 1388, as to the stone having "such a fatal destiny that, wherever it should be found, there should Scottish men reign."

It has been said that, according to Irish traditions, this stone is Lia Fail, the stone of Fate or Virtues, "now in the throne upon which is proclaimed the King of the Saxons." ‡ But this does not appear to be the fact. Yet comparison with the Irish stone fully explains the legends which gather around the stone now at Westminster. We are told that the Lia Fail had the magic property of uttering a human cry when touched by the rightful King of Erin.§

In an Irish version of Giraldus Cambrensis, which has some additional matter, is told how "the king [Henry II.] left Ireland and went to the city of St. David ; and there happened to be on the north side of the church a stone, called the Speaking Stone, like unto the Lia Fail which is in Tara, ten foot in length . . . A dead body was brought to the Speaking Stone, and it spake thereunder . . . Merlin promised that that stone would speak under him who should conquer Ireland. The king went to it ; but it did not speak under him, so he was displeased."

* Royal Hist. Soc. Trans., vol. ix. N.S.
† Chrons. Eds. I. and II., Rolls Series.
‡ Nutt's "Studies in the Holy Grail," p. 184.
§ See Squire, "Mythology of the British Islands," p. 71.

Mr. Whitley Stokes, who edits this fragment, remarks that the Lia Fail, or Stone of Ireland, was evidently still at Tara when the passage was written in the fifteenth century, and refers to O'Curry's lectures (p. 618) for the Irish legends.* It is clear that in Ireland, in Wales, and in Scotland, there was said to be a prophetic stone, with the guardianship of which the welfare of the ruler was bound up. The Coronation Stone is the Speaking Stone of Scone.

If a similar legend had become attached to London Stone in Cannon Street, that would well account for the curious scene reported of Jack Cade by Shakespeare. Perhaps, however, knowing the legend of the Coronation Stone, the Pretender only for the moment applied it to the City Stone.

HOLBEIN AND BLAKE IN THE ABBEY.

In the portraits of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., once at Whitehall, of which the finished cartoon is preserved at Chatsworth, the head of Henry VII. so closely resembles that of Torregiano's effigy of the king that I have no doubt that Holbein studied the statue for his purpose.

Miss Mary Hervey, in her interesting book on Holbein's famous picture of the *Ambassadors* at the National Gallery, pointed out, as said on p. 312, that the mosaic floor on which the ambassadors seem to stand is a representation of that at the Abbey. Accepting this fact, we may reach a fuller interpretation of the picture. The inscription on the pavement itself stated that it contained a computation of the term of the world's existence—"containing a discourse of the world's continuance," as Weever puts it. Now Holbein's picture was painted in London in 1533, and at this time, when the traditions of the Abbey were unbroken, we cannot doubt that the wonderful prophetic pavement was pointed out to every visitor.

We may assume that Holbein consciously made use of this as a symbol of Time on which to stand his two ambassadors, who were engaged on the affairs which make history, in this great culminating year of the break with Rome and Anne Boleyn's divorce. The mysterious picture itself, it is evident, requires supplementary explanation, and the one which seems to stand out by itself by the statement of the facts, falls in perfectly with the

* "Eng. Hist. Review," 1904.

fashion of the time, shown in such works as Dürer's *Melancholia* and Holbein's own *Dance of Death.*

On the mosaic of Time a double-staged table carries the several instruments of science and art. On the upper stage they are mostly astronomical, and here is a celestial globe. Below are books, a musical instrument, compasses, and a terrestrial globe. The stand with its contents, against which the ambassadors lean, forms a symbol of human knowledge. Right in front, above the floor, is a curious distorted skull, which is set at an angle to the pavement, like that of *a gnomon to a dial.* Death throws its shadow on Time, and it is not without reason that its shadow is out of relation to the others in the picture.

In the summer of 1775 tapestries which had covered the tombs of the Presbytery were removed, and the paintings on these tombs and the sedilia were at once copied for, and published by, Sir Joseph Ayloffe. These copies are now in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, and are of such a character that they could have been drawn only by two men then in England, John Carter and William Blake ; and it is to the latter, I think, that we may assign them. Blake was apprenticed to Basire, the engraver, from 1771 to 1778 (age 14–21). In 1773 he was sent by his master to draw in the Abbey, and for years he was engaged in drawing "all the mediæval tombs." "In the winter the youth helped to engrave selections from these Abbey studies . . . the prentice work as assistant to Basire of these years may be traced under Basire's name in Archæologia, &c. . . . In the Sepulchral Monuments (Gough, 1796) occurs a capital engraving of Queen Philippa from her monument, with the inscription: *Basire delineavit*, for which, as in many other cases, we may safely read *W. Blake.*" * Now, the drawings of which we have spoken are signed: "Basire, 1775." And the engravings from these drawings are signed: "J. Basire del. et sc., 1780."

PRESERVATION OF THE CHURCH.

My last word must be on this most important of all considerations in regard to the fabric, and I venture here to set down a summary of the conclusions I have reached.

1. Not one more monument or memorial window should be erected. A single one, in every case, seems a small matter, but the cumulative result of even those set up in the last generation

* Gilchrist's "Life of Blake."

is disastrous. All compromises on this question are vain. Little marble discs and busts seem to disfigure the interior almost more than great statues in court dress. Hardly can the student protect himself from these new distractions. One cannot see the church for the monuments, nor the monuments for the sombre stained glass, nor the stained glass for the soot. There must surely come a revulsion in favour of daylight ; as it is, an enormous quantity of gas, that most destructive agent, has to be burned. My friend, Mr. S. C. Cockerell, has suggested to me that the best form of a memorial would be to cut names on the pavement slabs of the nave and cloister. I feel that the inclusion in such a list, ever growing longer in due sequence, would be a finer thing in itself, and the list more interesting to follow, than any addition of disparate and scattered monuments.

2. The church, within and without, should be kept continuously in the most perfect repair. As to this, it may be pointed out that the fissure on the west side of the north transept, which has existed for twenty years, must be harmful to the body of the wall. As Mr. Morris says in his little volume on the care of the church : "You cannot restore it, you can preserve it. The structural stability having been secured, the Abbey should be kept clean, and otherwise not be touched at all." This keeping clean would be one factor in preservation, for the film of matter which collects over all surfaces exposed in London is very destructive. I must here repeat what I have said as to the necessity of putting a protective skin of lime-wash over the whole exterior stone-work. Examination of ancient masonry like the west front and sculptures of Wells Cathedral, and the rich south porch of Lincoln, shows that in the Middle Ages it was customary so to protect masonry. Of course, if the church were whitened all at once it would seem somewhat shocking, but there is no need of this, if it were done gradually and with a yellow toned wash ; and the portions done would soon recover their mellowness. The various textures would appear through the film with even enhanced value ; compare the vaulted passages entering east from Dean's Yard.

3. Whatever we do, much will necessarily decay—paintings, carvings, pavements, are quickly fading and wearing away from sight and memory ; and a part of any general scheme of preservation must include the recording of all these things, beginning with those that are likely to be most fugitive, the last traces of painting especially. For instance, the thirteenth-century figure of St. Faith has never yet been copied. To *restore* these things is to

substitute a copy for what remains of an original, but to *copy* it is to preserve a faithful record of it, while leaving the original untouched, which will carry on its interest until it fades to a mere shadow. Which will the next generation most thank us for? Even valuable manuscript sources for the history of the church yet remain unpublished, such as "Fabric Rolls," and "Flete's Lives of the Abbots."

FINAL NOTES

THE CONFESSOR'S CHURCH (p. 101).

Mr. Bond gives with reserve a class of plans having ambulatories but no chapels, and instances St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and Worcester. Remains of chapels at the former still exist, and there is evidence, I believe, for those at Worcester.

VAULTING WITH INTERMEDIATE RIBS (p. 129).

The choir vaults of Westminster may be the earliest in England with subdivided cells. The choir vault at Lincoln, I am convinced, is not of St. Hugh's work, and is not so much a step towards subdivided vaults as an attempt to make all the compartments harmonise with the first (sexpartite) bay in having six half ribs. The vault of Lichfield, south transept, which is also mentioned as an early example of this type, is much later than the transept itself. At Amiens the church of St. Anne, as well as the cathedral, has a vault of this kind.

THE SHRINE (p. 293).

In 1242 a mandate was issued that Edward, the King's Clerk, should have money for the shrine, and for the liveries of the goldsmiths working on it, and for the marble work. This last must have been set aside.

THE DORMITORY (p. 199).

This building was again burnt in 27 Hen. VI. The present roof must be part of the repairs.

APPENDIX

KING'S CARPENTERS (p. 208).

In 1438 John Goulding, disposer and surveyor of the King's works at the Palace and the Tower : also John Whattley.

GLASS-MAKING (p. 304).

Thos. Glaswryghte mentioned 1355.

PAINTERS AND THEIR GUILD (p. 275).

Master Adam, the Painter, is mentioned in 1312 and 1313 (Letter Books E and D). Amongst the names of those sworn in 1328 into the divers *Misteries* of London, for the government and instruction of the same, were the painters Robt. le Davy, Henry de Denecoumbe, William de Porkle, and Richard de Stockwell (Letter Book E).

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Printed by Ballantyne & Co. Limited
Tavistock Street, London

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